

A decorative border of gold-leaf floral and leaf motifs, including roses and acanthus leaves, framing the title text.

LUCA & ANDREA
DELLA ROBBIA
AND THEIR
SUCCESSORS.





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John·W·Alexander
Elizabeth·A·Alexander

1887-1915

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DELLA ROBBIA

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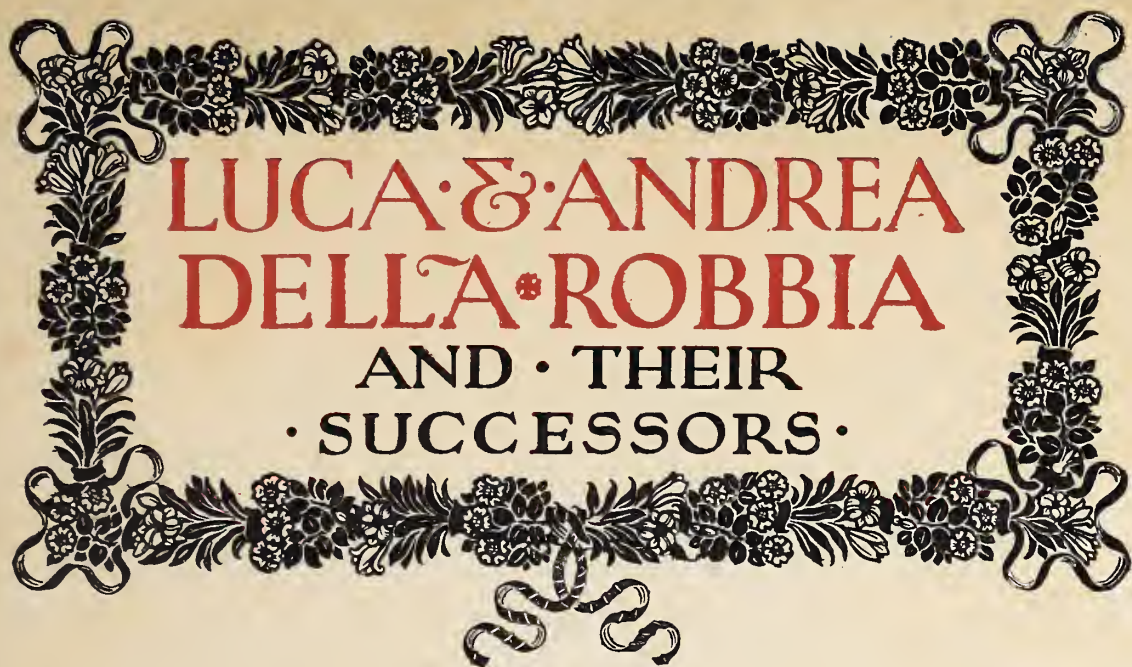


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Alinari, Florence.

*The Visitation.
by
Luca Della Robbia.
S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas, Pistoja.*



LUCA · & · ANDREA
DELLA · ROBBIA
AND · THEIR
· SUCCESSORS ·

BY
MAUD CRUTTWELL



WITH OVER 150 ILLUSTRATIONS



LONDON : J · M · DENT & CO.
NEW YORK : E · P · DUTTON & CO.
· MCMII ·

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
At the Ballantyne Press

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I WISH to express my deep sense of gratitude for the kindness and help I have received in my work. Chiefly I am indebted to Dr. Gronau, who has aided me constantly with his advice, his knowledge of the subject, and in the search for and transcription of documents. I owe much also to Professor Allan Marquand for personal help, besides what I have gained from his published writings; to Cav. Guido Carocci, who has generously allowed me to incorporate in my List of Works the results of his own researches in the by-ways of Tuscany, and has made easy for me the removal of obstructions in churches, &c.; to Cav. Giuseppe Castellucci, Architect to the Opera del Duomo, who has allowed me to publish notes and photographs of his discoveries concerning the Cantoria; to MM. Alinari, for permission to reproduce their photographs and for their kindness in allowing me to study from their large collection; to the Directors of the Archivio di Stato and of the Opera del Duomo for much courtesy and help, especially to Signor del Badia for his aid in deciphering the documents; to Dr. Bode for allowing me to reproduce photographs from his own publications otherwise not obtainable. Lastly to the private owners of works in Italy, Germany, and England I owe my thanks for the readiness with which their collections have been made accessible to me.

MAUD CRUTTWELL.

FLORENCE, *June* 1902.

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PART I

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

PREFATORY

No artist of the Renaissance has suffered more severely from lack of discriminating judgment than Luca della Robbia. While every sightseer has now some idea at least of the main characteristics of his great contemporaries, the work of Luca, one of the most individual and uncompromising of sculptors, is known so little that his name is used more or less as a generic term for every enamelled terra-cotta of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Not only are the works of Andrea constantly ascribed to him, but many of the most paltry productions of the later school. In some of the chief museums of Europe nearly every work in glazed earthenware, or even painted stucco, bears his name, no matter how poor the modelling nor how coarse and theatrical the treatment.

It is perhaps natural that confusion should exist between work in many points so similar as the glazed terra-cottas of Luca and Andrea, but it is strange indeed to find productions so different in aim and quality as those of Giovanni and the *atelier* classed under a name so great—the name of a sculptor of the first rank, hardly inferior to Donatello himself for intellect, imagination, and creative power.

Luca is known to the public chiefly as the inventor, or to speak more correctly, the adapter to sculpture of the process which bears his name, too little known as the sculptor in marble and bronze. Yet it is in marble and bronze that he has put forth his greatest power. Were his genius judged by the high standard of the Cantoria, the Bronze Doors and the Campanile Reliefs, the attribution to him of any trivially conceived or poorly executed work would be impossible. In appreciating the stately strength and classic simplicity, the splendid

composition and workmanship of these noble sculptures, we cannot but feel regret that he should ever have worked in the slighter material of glazed terra-cotta. For, charming and attractive as is the art, its disadvantage, from the sculptural point of view, cannot be denied. Subject to three modifying processes—the baking of the clay, the glazing, and the firing of the enamel—it must needs be less directly expressive of the artist's thought than either marble or bronze. Moreover, the purity of surface is broken up, the modelling and even the expression of the faces altered, by reflections and high lights. Truth and simplicity are inevitably somewhat sacrificed in a material subject to such variations. Luca, it is true, has by care in preparing and applying the glazes reduced their reflecting power to a minimum, and has compensated for the loss of pure surface by extracting their utmost value of ivory-like colour and polish, but it is nevertheless in his works in marble and bronze that his full strength as a sculptor can best be appreciated.

Luca della Robbia, the classic sculptor of the Cantoria, comprehended perhaps better than any of his contemporaries the essential spirit of antique art. That he invented a popular and charming process is of trifling importance in estimating his claims as an artist. He is first of all the imaginative Sculptor and Poet, who embodied the grandest ideals in forms worthy of Pheidias Greece. On all his works in marble, in bronze, and in the humbler material which he elevated almost to their dignity, he has stamped the mark of a vigorous and creative genius, by which he takes rank among the great artists of the world. He is the sculptor, as Shakespeare is the poet, "*not of an age, but for all time*;" the interpreter not only of the interests and emotions of his own epoch, but of the significant and enduring aspirations of humanity in their fullest development.

To extricate his stately sculptures from the charming yet inferior work of Andrea, and to relegate to their due place the productions of Giovanni, by a careful analysis of the characteristics of each artist, is the purpose of the following study.

PRELIMINARY SKETCH

OF THE ROBBIA ART UNDER LUCA, ANDREA, AND GIOVANNI

THE chief difficulty which presents itself in separating the enamelled terra-cottas of the Robbia family is due to the fact that each member overlapped on his successor, Luca in his later years allowing the collaboration of Andrea, and Andrea of his son Giovanni, not only in the execution of accessories and minor details, but in prominent parts of the same work. We have thus not only to distinguish the entire sculptures of each artist, but often to extricate from the same altar-piece their special handiwork. The nature of the art lent itself readily to such collaboration, since each section must of necessity be separately manipulated, glazed and baked. Hence the danger of that lack of unity which already in the work of Andrea is so pronounced, and which became the most glaring fault of Giovanni and the later school. Luca, the grandest quality of whose sculpture is its unity, always maintained harmony and coherence even in his most elaborate enamelled work, to which he gives indeed the massive significance of marble and bronze. Even when admitting the collaboration of Andrea, the design is always his own. His powerful mind dominates the entire work; and when in old age he allowed Andrea an almost equal share in execution, as in the Impruneta Altars, his influence is still so potent, that only in spiritual difference and slight technical failure can the weaker hand be discerned. Andrea, modelling from his designs, imitating his manner, and copying his forms, could not attain to Luca's strength and vigour; and we find thus in these later works, figures built on

the imposing and severe lines of Luca, animated by a spirit the very opposite to his—mild, almost timid—the characteristic spirit of Andrea. The attribution of such work is naturally a much disputed point, and one on which few critics are agreed.

This is the case also in the later works of Andrea, when he in his turn allows the collaboration of Giovanni. We have often the gentle forms of Andrea imitated by Giovanni, who animates them with his own bold and truculent spirit, so that the contrast is at times almost grotesque. The task of separating the works of Andrea from those of Luca is slight compared to that of distinguishing Andrea from Giovanni. So powerful a personality as Luca's must necessarily stamp itself on his work, and timidity from such a nature being psychologically impossible, when this quality appears in any parts of a sculpture, however externally alike the forms may be, it is certain that such parts are not by him. But dealing with an impressionable, easily-influenced nature like Andrea's, and with a self-suppressing imitative artist like Giovanni, the distinction is not so easy.

Luca never swerved a hair-breadth from his aims nor his methods of work, which are from first to last true, simple, and direct. Andrea, on the contrary, changes his style repeatedly. At first copying Luca's simplicity of manner and restraint of feeling, although unable to catch his strength, he produced charming and delicate imitative work. In his maturity, when he allowed himself a freer rein for the expression of his own more personal conceptions, he attained, as in the Verna Assumption and Crucifixion, to a nobility in its way but little below that of Luca himself. But this period was of the briefest duration. Other influences, chiefly that of Verrocchio, began to sway him. His tendencies towards elaboration and emotionalism gradually developed, yet with occasional returns to a severer style, and now and again an outbreak of almost *baroque* redundancy, most bewildering in attempting a chronology of his works.

Luca appears to have admitted no collaboration in design. The execution only he entrusts to others, and his mind invariably controls the entire work. Thus unity is preserved even in work so obviously executed by different hands as the Impruneta Altars. But from the heterogeneous, disintegrated character of the later works of Andrea, it would seem as if design as well as execution were divided between master and assistants. At times, indeed, in some of the poorer altar-pieces, apparently superintended though not executed by him, so disconnected and purposeless is the composition as to suggest the fitting together almost at random of any sections that happened to be lying about ready to hand.

Andrea had infinite grace and charm, but he had little stability or strength of purpose. While inspired by the influence of Luca, his artistic aims were lofty and his execution conscientious. His work during most of Luca's lifetime is, though less noble and vigorous than Luca's, earnest and full of distinction. In the one brief period of his best achievement he shows himself capable of real grandeur. After the removal of Luca's influence we notice the gradual lowering of standard, the growing carelessness and scamping of work, and shortly after his death the character of the art entirely changed as the mercantile element crept in to the *bottega*.

Luca obviously designed and superintended the most insignificant detail of his works, as well as the mechanical processes of glazing and firing. This is proved by the fine artistic quality of the mouldings and minor decorations, and the purity and even surface of the enamels. Compare the glazing of a relief by Luca with one of the later school, for example (since they hang side by side) the *Madonna of the Roses*, No. 31 of the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and the *Tondo*, No. 30. In one the enamel is of the most delicate cream colour, free from any speck or flaw, applied evenly and carefully. In the other the glaze is of a glaring white, full of bubbles and

specks of dirt, and is so unevenly applied that where some parts of the model are considerably thickened by it others are barely covered. The works of Andrea's best period and a few even of his later years are glazed with an enamel of a delicacy almost equal to Luca's, but after Luca's death hardly a piece of good glazing is to be found. Carelessness and haste are the main characteristics of the later work.

Again, as observation will prove, Luca, with the one exception of the Madonna in the frieze of the Impruneta Chapel, *never repeated, nor allowed to be repeated, his designs, nor used moulds even for sections of his garlands.* Nothing in his work is modelled mechanically, except perhaps, the mouldings and architectural ornaments. With the school under Andrea, and still more under Giovanni, cherubs' heads, sections of garlands, predella scenes, and even entire altar-pieces of the smaller kind, such as *The Madonna of the Cushion* and *The Madonna adoring the Christ Child*, were repeated in moulds, slightly varied and modified while the clay was still damp and pliable. With the first of such mechanical repetitions the doom of the art was sealed, and the character of the *bottega* began to decline from a sculptor's studio to a mere potter's factory.

The large family of Andrea were all, whether with talent or without, trained to be his assistants, for the most part turning out artisans rather than artists. Other apprentices not of the race seem to have been admitted, and the art sank to the level of a mere commercial enterprise. A mass of work was undertaken too vast to allow time for even the compositions to be original. Andrea had his own designs, such as *The Madonna adoring the Christ Child* (composed in more earnest and conscientious days), copied *ad nauseam*. Moreover, in some of the most important altar-pieces nominally by him, little but the principal figures are his own work, the rest, with the accessories, predella scenes, frames of cherubs' heads and garlands, being mere mechanical repetitions by inferior assistants. The har-

mony and homogeneous quality of Luca's compositions is one of their best characteristics. He extracts from the theme its utmost significance and subordinates all incidental matter. But much as Andrea inherited of pure beauty and nobility from his master, the sense of harmonious unity was denied him. Under the management of Giovanni, significance of subject and symmetry of composition were totally ignored, and the scenes were patched together as heterogeneously as a child's puzzle.

Giovanni, clever and energetic, a painter rather than a sculptor by tendency, impelled by merely commercial motives, sought to gain a meretricious advantage by the introduction of painted backgrounds, realistically-tinted flesh and brilliant colours, and neglected completely the traditions of sculpture. It is interesting to watch his methods and mannerisms gradually encroaching on and superseding those of his father. Andrea, though forsaking the simple style of Luca, submitting to the influence of the popular Verrocchio, and increasing ever in restlessness and elaboration, yet restrained his treatment more or less within the province of sculpture. He shows no inclination for realistic colouring, and although he makes plentiful use of gilding, prefers the plain white and blue enamels. Except in a few cases also he keeps his figures on one plane, and attempts no deceptive effacement of the background. Under the influence of Giovanni the methods of representation were altered. An artist of considerable ability, with a good, if somewhat showy, sense for architectural decoration, and an energy and crude vigour very different from the mild suavity of Andrea, he exploited his father's methods and designs as long as the demand for them lasted, and then, with true commercial instinct, ever on the watch for some new attraction, he forsook them to copy the works of other sculptors, and even painters, most in vogue. A pictorial treatment was adopted, the background became landscapes in deep perspective and the glaze was gradually superseded by oil-paint, applied at first to the flesh only, but at length smeared over the whole work, by which

a crude realism was obtained at small cost of labour and money.

The degradation of the art began to show itself even before the close of the century, and during the life of Andrea some of the most meretricious and theatrical works of the school were executed. The mannerisms of Giovanni are apparent in works nominally by Andrea himself, such as the Pistoja and Viterbo Lunettes, and it seems clear from the evidence of his influence, that by the beginning of the sixteenth century he was actual chief of the *bottega*. The large dimensions the establishment had by this time assumed can be guessed by the enormous amount of these brightly-coloured and mechanical works produced within the first quarter of the century.

But no lifeless imitation barren of artistic aims long survives. With all its popularity the Robbia craft was nearing its end, and long before the close of the sixteenth century the demand for its productions had ceased. The decline and fall of the art is well represented in the collection of the Museo Nazionale, Florence, most of which are from suppressed Tuscan churches. There we may see, close to the severe beauty of Luca's classic Madonnas, such gaudy and paltry productions as the large garden scenes of *Christ and the Magdalen*, and between these two extremes may trace each step in the steady deterioration of the art. The last work of importance, brilliant, even fine in its way, but a painful degradation from the sculpturesque simplicity of Luca, is to be seen in the Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoja, decorations executed chiefly by Giovanni, which catch the eye by their originality and vivid colour, but which rank as little higher than attractive accessories to the architecture. "I thought sorrowfully," says one of the earlier critics of the Robbias, "that this charming art, which received its baptism in the Cathedral of Florence, met its death in the Hospital of Pistoja!"

CHAPTER I

LUCA AND ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA—BIOGRAPHICAL

IT is not within the province of this study to attempt any analysis of the Renaissance movement, in the most strenuous moment of which Luca della Robbia was born. He is too classic and tranquil an artist, too definite in his aims, to be fully representative of its exuberant and complex spirit. The scientific problems so absorbing to most of his contemporaries, their probing of human emotions, their efforts to overthrow all the restrictions which tradition and ignorance had till then imposed on art, and to exploit to the utmost its possibilities, had but a subordinate interest for him. He seems to have held himself calmly aloof from the general passion for experiment, as one who knew instinctively the hard and fast boundary beyond which the artist may not go.

That he must have devoted his student days to earnest and laborious study, however, is proved by his complete science and mastery of technique, but artistic problems seem to have interested him only in so far as he might gain by their solution entire freedom for self-expression. His concern was not in pushing the possibilities of his material to their utmost limits, but in expressing most significantly some deep-lying thought or grand ideal, in interpreting most pregnantly all the Beauty of existence, moral, intellectual, and physical. While the Florentine artists, painters as well as sculptors, struggling after their great leader Donatello, were absorbed in all kinds of scientific problems, bent on portraying Humanity in all its aspects, copying with equal gusto its beauties and defects, rending the veil of Idealism and Imagination from Nature

and revealing her with an almost brutal frankness, Luca remained faithful to the classic tradition which imposed on Art the duty of interpreting only the noblest and most significant. He is essentially an Idealist, more nearly allied to the antique sculptors of Greece than any of his contemporaries, although perhaps less a student of classic art than either Ghiberti or Donatello. He was classic, not from any conscious desire to resuscitate a vanished civilisation, but because his temper was akin to that of the Greeks in its selectiveness, its serenity and idealism. His art is therefore too one-sided to be expressive of that complex, restless, and realistic movement we call the Renaissance. He is the spokesman rather of the eternal aspirations of mankind towards the *Ganzen, Guten, Schönen*, than of any one given moment in history. His calm spirit might have delivered itself of its message in any age and with any surroundings, for he is essentially the interpreter of what is permanent and fundamental in human nature.

We are therefore spared the effort at analysis of his environment which has usually to preface the study of Quattrocento Art, and of which we grow so weary, and may accept as a fact that sudden rush of intellectual and active life which, bursting to an overflow in the early fifteenth century, swept and surged around him, carrying hither and thither, like waifs in a boiling flood, the artistic and literary movements, alternately Christian and Pagan, Realistic and Romantic, according to the impulse of the moment, at times combining all four elements as in its greatest interpreter Donatello.

Luca, standing serene above these conflicting tides, was stirred by one impulse only—to give expression to the eternal ideals of Beauty and Truth; a beacon burning less ardently than Donatello or Brunellesco, yet with a flame steadfast and unflickering, kindled across the centuries at the inextinguishable fires of Greece.

It is but little we hear of the private life of Luca and Andrea della Robbia. The documents hitherto discovered are

but scanty, and refer chiefly to their works, while the slight biography of Vasari, perhaps more trustworthy as to Andrea, whom he knew as an old man, is as regards Luca completely unreliable. The older sources, Antonio Billi and the Anonymo Magliabecchiano, give but the baldest reference to a few of Luca's works, the former merely mentioning Andrea's name and the latter not mentioning him at all. We are thus thrown for material upon a few documents, chiefly Declarations of Property made to the Catasto.¹

The first fragment of family history we learn from the Declaration made by Luca's father in the year 1427 (Doc. i.). The family then consisted of Simone di Marcho, the father, 84 years of age; Margherita, his wife, aged 64; and three sons, Marco (the father of Andrea), 42; Ser Giovanni (a man of importance, notary and chancellor to the Signoria), 33, his wife Papera and infant child Polissena; and Luca, aged 27. He was thus contemporary with the century, being born either at the end of 1399 or at the beginning of 1400. The family were living at that time in a hired house in the Via S. Egidio in the parish of the now destroyed church of S. Pier Maggiore, only in 1446 moving to the Via Guelfa, where the greater part of their life was spent.²

The possessions of Simone, Luca's father, were considerable, this document reveals. Besides the house in Via S. Egidio, he possessed a *podere* with a villa (a *casa da signore*) in the parish of S. Tommaso a Baroncelli, a village close to Bagno a Ripoli,³ with olives, vineyards, "*trees fruitful and not fruitful*,"

¹ In 1427 a law was passed by which every Florentine citizen was required to make a declaration of his property for the regulation of the income-tax. This was the law of the Catasto or Taxes, and the many documents preserved in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, are our principal source of information as to the private life of the citizens.

² The house in the Via Guelfa stood at the angle of the street where it crosses what is now the Via Nazionale, near the church of S. Barnaba.

³ The present name of the house supposed to have been the Robbia estate is Poggio Baronti (see Carocci, *I Dintorni di Firenze*, p. 286). At S. Maria del Tartagliese, also, the *podere* supposed to have been Luca's is pointed out.

and another *podere* in the distant village of S. Maria del Tartagliese, lying some miles from Florence on the Arezzo road, between S. Giovanni Valdarno and Figline. The latter estate was inherited by Luca, and is mentioned in his different Declarations of Property.

Vasari tells us that as a child he was placed to learn the art of a goldsmith with Leonardo di Ser Giovanni, whom we best know as the artist of the silver Altars of S. Maria del Fiore and the Pistoja Cathedral; but since these works were executed between 1355 and 1371, it is hardly probable that Leonardo was even alive when Luca grew beyond childhood. With more reason, as we shall see later, we may accept Baldinucci's suggestion that he was apprenticed to Lorenzo Ghiberti,¹ in which case he would have taken a share in the work of the first Baptistery Gate, on which Ghiberti was employed from the year 1403 to 1424. The evidence of Ghiberti's influence upon Luca is strong—the influence not so much of spirit as of forms and mannerisms, such as would naturally cling to the man from impressions received in boyhood. This influence we shall consider later in studying the characteristics of Luca's art, reserving this chapter for biographical matter, the narrative of such scanty incidents as the documents reveal. It is the merest outline of a biography, chiefly a record of work, hardly a glimpse of the man himself, his home life and affections. But the truest, most reliable biography is to be found, after all, in his work, in which, too, can be studied his temperament, the quality of his mind, his strength, energy, and earnestness.

The life of Luca seems to have been concentrated in his art. We hear of no other interests or pursuits, although the feeling for and knowledge of music shown in his Cantoria

¹ Baldinucci writes: "*L'opere di questo maestro*" (Luca della Robbia) "*per molte osservazioni fatte da me in congresso de' primi intendenti di nostra età, fanno tener fermo che egli si portasse a tal perfezione sotto la scorta et co' precetti di Lorenzo Ghiberti che in que' tempi attendeva a tal nobilissima facoltà con quella gloria che al mondo è nota.*" (Notizie de' professori del disegno. Milano, 1811. Vol. v. 217.)

sculptures suggest that he was, if not a performer like Leonardo da Vinci, at least an understander of music. He never married—even the gossipy Vasari gives no hint of any passion or outside emotion to distract his mind from his work. His entire life of labour was passed in the service of Florence, and in especial of the Cathedral. Only once, as it appears, did he undertake work for any other city, when, in middle age, at the request of his old collaborator, Maso di Bartolommeo, he executed the Lunette over the Portal of S. Domenico, Urbino.¹

Vasari gives a charming picture of his earnestness and industry as a boy. He tells us that having learned to draw and to model in wax, his soul stirred him to work in marble and bronze, and he gave himself up entirely to sculpture, chiselling all day and drawing all night with so great devotion that often, his feet freezing as he sat through the cold night hours absorbed in study, he kept them in a basket of shavings for warmth.² However imaginative a picture this may be, the earnestness and self-devotion it illustrates are characteristic of the man, as the great perfection and finish of his sculptures show.

Vasari, more unreliable even than usual in this biography, tells us that at the age of fifteen he went to Rimini, to work for Sigismondo Malatesta in the chapel dedicated to his wife in the Church of S. Francesco. This is a series of glaring anachronisms, for Sigismondo was not born till 1417, the restoration of the church was not begun till 1447, and the chapel to Isotta, probably intended by Vasari, not until 1450. Certainly there is no sign of any work by Luca, the many reliefs with which the temple is adorned being chiefly by the hand of Agostino Duccio and pupils of Donatello.

¹ It is uncertain whether "The Visitation" in S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas, Pistoja, was executed originally for that church or removed thither from Florence.

² Vasari, Sansoni. Firenze, 1878. Vol. ii. 168. From this edition the extracts are invariably made.

On the youth of Luca not the faintest light is thrown. As is the case with so many of the early Quattrocento artists, he emerges from complete obscurity in the full blaze of perfection. It is regrettable from the student's point of view that there is no gradual development to be traced, no tentative groping or struggle to be watched; yet there is something satisfying to the imagination in the way these men of the Renaissance flash suddenly into sight, like fully-fledged eagles strong of wing and vision, with no preliminary trial of pinion or failure in flight.

Thus the first authentic record we have of Luca's art is of the most splendid achievement of his life, the Marble Cantoria or Singing Gallery, executed for Santa Maria del Fiore, the Cathedral of Florence.¹ He received the commission in 1431, when therefore he was thirty-one years of age. We find him at once at the summit of his attainments, imagination, intellect, and science of workmanship all at the highest pitch of perfection. What works preceded, led up to, this most mature and perfect sculpture? Certainly considerable proof of ability must have been given before the authorities of so pre-eminent a building, the *cor cordium* of the Florentine Republic, bestowed a commission so important. None of the existing works in marble can be suggested, for the date of all these is known. As we shall see later, it is most probable that some of the enamelled terra-cottas were executed earlier, and if this be correct, much of the time during which the documents are silent must have been spent in bringing to perfection this new process. The veil shrouding his youth and early manhood we may partially lift, and allow ourselves imaginary glimpses of experiments in the mixing of glazes, the construction of furnaces, endless failures and trials of baking. But here we must deal with facts only, and begin the history of Luca's work with the commission of the Marble Cantoria.

¹ The Cathedral continued to be called Santa Reparata until 1432, when a decree was issued changing the name to Santa Maria del Fiore.

During the first half of the fifteenth century, the entire artistic energies of Florence seem to have been concentrated on the Cathedral and its surrounding buildings. The dominating wish of the Florentines, from the chief noble down to the humblest citizen, was to see their church exceed in grandeur and beauty that of every other state. It was the symbol of their prosperity, of their supremacy of wealth and power. And never since the days of Pericles did a city possess so splendid a band of artists to obey her will and give shape to her aspirations and ambitions. Never did demand meet with a more magnificent response.

At the time when Luca received his first commission from the authorities of the Cathedral, the group of buildings which is the focus-point of Florence (we may say of Italy itself), the Duomo with its Campanile and Baptistery, and the Merchants' Church of Or San Michele, were architecturally complete, and needed but the final touches of ornament. Many of the niches were empty, but every year some statues by Ghiberti or Donatello, or one of Donatello's able pupils, were added. Brunellesco's Cupola needed little beyond the lantern.¹ On the unfinished façade, among the amorphous statues of the previous century, some of Donatello's noblest sculptures stood out in striking contrast.² Ghiberti's first gates had replaced Andrea Pisano's in the post of honour facing the Cathedral, and the so-called Gates of Paradise, for which they in turn were to be ousted, were already begun. The activities of all the Florentine sculptors, architects, and painters, were

¹ The Cupola was finished between 1434 and 1436. The lantern was begun in 1445, and finished 1461.

² The Madonna (No. 40, Museo del Duomo) with its enamel eyes, the statue of Pope Boniface VIII. (now inside the Cathedral), and the four statues at the foot of the Poggio Imperiale, coarse work of the early fourteenth century, originally formed part of the main decorations of the façade. To these were added in the fifteenth century, Donatello's S. John the Evangelist (prototype of Michelangelo's Moses), now in the first chapel left of the Tribuna; the statue of Poggio, now just inside the entrance; and the David (the *Zuccone*), now in the niche on the west side of the Campanile.

concentrated upon the superb mass of temples above which the slender Campanile shoots its delicate stem. Never was Florence so rich in genius from which to pick and choose her artists, and it was no small honour to Luca della Robbia, the junior by many years of Donatello and Ghiberti, to be selected for the most important work in the interior of the Duomo. How the choice was justified the noble Cantoria itself most eloquently tells. From henceforth Luca was employed almost exclusively in the service of the Duomo, and for the next ten years at least can have done little besides. The commissions he received were both numerous and important, and he shared with Donatello the post of chief sculptor of the Cathedral works.

In 1434, while the Cantoria was still unfinished, he and Donatello were desired to model, each of them, a colossal head, to be placed high up in the opening of the Cupola (Doc. iii.). This was probably one of the many experiments in decoration abandoned after trial, for we hear nothing further of the work. In that golden age of Energy no cost or trouble was spared to secure the splendid effect required. For example, Donatello's statue of David, called the *Zuccone*, was set, with infinite pains, high up on a buttress of the Tribuna, and taken down shortly after because it failed to give the wished-for effect.¹

¹ This statue was commissioned in 1408 to be placed, one of twelve other prophets, on the exterior buttresses of the Cathedral, where their plinths may still be seen. The David was placed in position, disapproved of—why, it is difficult to understand—and removed after a short time. The finish to the architecture of such a series of statues standing out against the sky would have added much to its dignity. But the Florentines of the renaissance were hard to please; witness their disapproval of the decoration of the Cupola, called so contemptuously by Michelangelo “Una gabbia da grilli,” yet which to us appears so beautiful. In reference to the above statue of Donatello we have the following notices:—

“1407. *Donato di Niccolo di Betto Bardi faccia una delle 12 figure dei Profeti, cioè quella di David con i medesimi patti che n'ha pigliato a fare una Giovanni di Antonio di Banco, Maestro, le quali devono porre sopra li sproni della Tribuna che adesso si fabbrica.*”

“1408. 3. *Luglio. La figura del Profeta posta alla Cupola levata e si pongo in terra.*” (Cavallucci, S. Maria del Fiore.)

Luca and Donatello were continually associated in works for the Cathedral. A year after Luca had begun his Cantoria, Donatello was commissioned to execute another gallery, to be placed over the door of the opposite sacristy, the Sagrestia Vecchia. The contrast the complete dissimilarity of these two works affords is one of the most interesting studies of Renaissance Art, each perfect in its way, each illustrating the aims and ideals of the two sculptors.

In 1437 Luca began his second great undertaking for the Cathedral, the five reliefs of the Campanile, the commission for which is dated May 30 (Doc. iv.). Like the Cathedral itself, the architecture of the Campanile was complete, and awaiting only the final touches of the sculptor, the insertion of the jewels. There were several niches without statues, and in the bands of reliefs on the original base designed by Giotto were five empty spaces left unfinished by Andrea Pisano. These had been neglected in all probability, because, closely fronting the wall of the Cathedral, and shadowed by a bridge which then connected the two buildings, they were hardly seen. This bridge had been removed as "a useless encumbrance" in 1431,¹ and in 1437 the five empty lozenges, now become more visible, were given to Luca to carve with a continuation of the symbolic sculptures, designed (and in part undoubtedly executed) by Giotto himself.² How grandly he fulfilled this second task we shall see later.

In 1438 he was again associated with Donatello. The authorities of the Duomo wished to erect two sculptured marble altars in the Chapels of S. Peter and S. Paul, in the Tribuna. That of S. Peter was given to Luca to carve, and for it he executed two reliefs, one of them but roughly hewn

¹ "La porticella sta a riscontro di un'altra praticata nella parete della chiesa, la quale dava accesso ad un ponte che guidava al campanile, il quale ponte fu demolito come inutile ingombro nel 1431." (Cavallucci, S. Maria del Fiore.)

² *The Creation of Adam* and *The Creation of Eve*, on the west side, are carved as well as designed by Giotto himself, as their immense superiority to the rest of the reliefs testify.

out. That of S. Paul was to be designed by Donatello, and his wax model copied in marble by Luca (Doc. v.). For some reason unspecified, these altars were never finished, and, as far as we know, nothing but Luca's two reliefs were executed. In this same year (1438) the Cantoria was already set in its place over the door of the Sagrestia Nuova (Doc. ii. 24), and five years later (1443) Luca decorated the tympanum of the same door with his glazed terra-cotta relief of the Resurrection.

Here we must pause for a moment to consider the origin of the process of enamelled terra-cotta, and the probable date of Luca's first experiments.

Vasari, with singular misjudgment of his earnest and single-minded nature, tells us that after calculating what he had gained by his work in bronze in proportion with the time and labour expended thereon, and finding the advantage but little, he determined to abandon the troublesome materials of marble and bronze, and seek some easier means of livelihood; and considering that clay was easily manipulated, and with but little fatigue, and only needed some method by which it could be rendered durable, he cast about in his mind till he discovered a process by which it would be protected from the damage of weather and other vicissitudes. After many experiments he discovered an enamel, composed of tin, *terraghetta*, antimony, and other minerals, which so well succeeded that the clay was rendered by it well-nigh eternal. "*This invention*," Vasari adds, "*so charming and so useful for the decoration of walls too damp for fresco, brought him much praise and the gratitude of all future generations.*"¹

It would be tilting at windmills to seek to defend Luca from this absurd charge of calculation and petty economy, so totally at variance not only with his own energetic nature, but with the spirit of the early fifteenth century. It will be sufficient merely to point out the errors in facts of which Vasari is guilty. He dates the so-called invention

¹ Vasari, ii. 173, 174.

from a very late period in Luca's life, after the completion of the bronze doors, which were not even begun until 1446. But the first dated example of glazed terra-cotta, the Tabernacle of Peretola, was executed as early as 1442, and is hardly more tentative a work than is the relief of the Resurrection. The enamels are there used with perfect freedom and judgment of effect, and with a technical excellence which argues considerable experience, however much we may disapprove of the style of decoration. Again, Luca never forsook marble and bronze to work exclusively in terra-cotta. On the contrary, his main energies all through his long life were devoted to sculptures in marble and bronze. A few dates will easily prove this, dates which extend over forty years, the maturest and most active of his life. The marble Cantoria, commissioned 1431; the marble reliefs of the Campanile, 1437; the marble Altar of S. Peter, 1438; the marble Tabernacle of Peretola (for the enamels in this are mere ornaments to the sculpture), 1442; the marble Federighi tomb, 1454; and, lastly, the Bronze Doors of the sacristy, upon which he was engaged on and off from 1446 up to nearly 1470. These are the chief works of Luca's life, works by the side of which his enamelled terra-cottas seem mere bagatelles.

But what was the origin of the enamelled terra-cotta, and at what time did Luca first apply the process to sculpture? These are questions upon which every critic has a different theory. The first dated example is, as we have seen, of 1442—the Tabernacle of Peretola—clearly no experimental work. The combination of colours, the purity of the enamels, and the assurance with which they are manipulated, show an already developed and elaborated method. At that time, therefore, the art had been brought to a state of the utmost technical excellence. Now, if we consider the quantity and quality of the work executed by Luca since 1431 (the date of the commission for the Cantoria), we shall see how unlikely it is that, within these same ten

years, he should also have found time to experiment and bring the process to this perfection. Ten years is but short time for the production of such works as the Cantoria, the Campanile sculptures, and those of the Altar of S. Peter, seventeen reliefs in all, executed entirely by his own hand. The most gigantic energy could hardly compress also into these ten years the inventing and perfecting of an art, involving endless technical experiments and failures. Even if none of the work in glazed terra-cotta showed signs of less maturity than the Cantoria sculptures, we should still be logically forced to the conclusion that Luca had discovered and matured the process before the year 1431.

But fortunately for the confirmation of this theory, several enamelled terra-cotta works *do* show undeniable signs of being more youthful and immature productions, notably the Madonna of the Innocenti Hospital,¹ and the "Frescobaldi Madonna," now in Berlin, which appear to me to be Luca's earliest existing sculptures. The signs of immaturity will be considered in a later chapter. It is probably to such small and comparatively simple works—altar-pieces for private chapels—that the process was first applied, developing only gradually to the elaborate reliefs, which would require greater experience in baking, larger furnaces, and a general expansion of apparatus.

As regards the origin of the idea in Luca's mind, I have been often struck while studying the Giottesque sculptures of the Campanile (the upper series of diamond-shaped reliefs) with the resemblance they must, when clean and comparatively new, have borne to the blue-and-white enamelled work of Luca, and it has seemed possible that the idea may have suggested itself from them. The white marble figures are set against a background of small *glazed tiles of exactly the same opaque blue* as that used by Luca. Now the marble

¹ Since so large a number of the Robbia works are in Florentine buildings, to avoid repetition, when no city is mentioned Florence is understood.

sculptures are discoloured, and the blue backgrounds so thickly coated with the dust of centuries, that at first one hardly observes there is any colour at all; but in earlier days when the marble was still white, and the blue tiles clean, the effect must have been precisely that of Luca's own white figures against the blue glaze. In especial, in the tympanum of the doorway which once gave access to the bridge formerly connecting the Campanile with the Cathedral, exactly over the reliefs carved by Luca, is a Giottesque sculpture of the Madonna and Child, which, set against these small blue tiles, in general effect strikingly recalls his own work. The Lunette of the Peretola Tabernacle, moreover, is exactly the same mixture of marble and glaze, the blue enamel being there inserted, as in these Giottesque reliefs, as a background to the marble figures.

Another fact to be noticed in connection with these Giottesque reliefs is, that before the days of Luca the same opaque glaze was known to the Florentines, was possibly even fabricated in the city itself. It has long been known that the word invention as applied to Luca's process is a misnomer continued merely for the sake of convenience, that the art of enamelling terra-cotta dates back to prehistoric times and has been carried on successively in different countries almost without cessation. But in these Giottesque reliefs we have evidence that here in Florence itself the art of glazing was known, and it is even possible that Luca, so far from inventing, may have learnt the rudiments at least of the process in an already existing pottery. His claim to originality lies in his application of the process to sculpture.

To return to the history of his works. The Bronze Doors of the Sagrestia Nuova, next to the Cantoria the most important work of Luca's life, were commissioned in 1446 (Doc. x.). The order to execute bronze doors for both sacristies had been given to Donatello as early as 1437, but as after nine years he had found no time to begin them, the

commission for one set was conferred upon Luca, in collaboration with Michelozzo and Maso di Bartolommeo. As we have seen, the work extended over the rest of his active life, apparently up to nearly 1470, after which time we learn from his own words that he was very infirm. Exactly at what date they were finished and set up we do not know; the two last panels seem to have been cast only about 1467, and final payment was not made till 1474, twenty-eight years after the date of commission.

Luca's responsibility did not extend to the casting or subsequent chiselling, but merely to the designing and modelling of the ten reliefs and surrounding ornaments, and while these were proceeding many other works were undertaken. Beneath the Cantoria of Donatello, which since 1439 had occupied a corresponding place to Luca's over the door of the opposite Sacristy,¹ he filled the tympanum with an enamelled relief of the Ascension, and two years later (1448) he executed, also in enamelled terra-cotta, the two angels bearing candelabra which are now within the Sacristy itself. With the *cachet* of the Cathedral approbation the art grew ever more popular, and its scope, even in Luca's hands, expanded from the purely sculpturesque to a more architectural use. Entire roofs, such as those of the two Chapels of S. Miniato; whole chambers, such as the perished study of Cosimo de' Medici, were encrusted with glazed terra-cotta, and it was applied to other secular purposes, the blazoning of heraldic arms, for which its possibility of brilliant and varied colour made it specially suitable.

Leaving the history of Luca's work we find a few notices of the family life revealed about this time. In 1446 he and his brother Marco had bought the house in Via Guelfa, and here they lived together henceforth, Luca, his brother, and his brother's wife and children. Marco died before 1457, and left his family (well provided for, however) to the care of

¹ Commissioned July 1433. Already in place January 1439.

Luca. Andrea, the eldest, Luca trained to be his assistant, and there were four others besides, Simone, Paolo, Francesca, and Margarita (Doc. xvii.). Besides the house in Via Guelfa, Luca and these heirs of Marco owned still the *podere* in the parish of S. Maria a Tartagliese, inherited from Luca's father Simone.

So far as we can tell, Luca had no other regular pupil or apprentice but Andrea. Assistants for the mechanical parts of his work of course he had, and as a fact, the names of two such are known to us through the documents; a certain Nanni di Miniato, who carved the cornice of the Cantoria (Doc. ii. 9), and Antonio di Cristofano, who aided him in the Peretola Tabernacle (Doc. vi.). Vasari's assertion that he took into his service "his two brothers Ottaviano and Agostino," is but another of the many errors in this biography. Luca had no brother of either name, and the persons intended by Vasari, Agostino di Duccio and his brother Ottaviano, show not the faintest trace of his influence.

Andrea was born in 1435.¹ He seems to have been of a

¹ It seems impossible to ascertain with absolute certainty the date of Andrea's birth. There are discrepancies in the statements of age given in the Declarations of property to the Catasto. In that made by himself in 1470, he states his age to be 33, which would place the date of his birth 1437. This is the date accepted by Dr. Bode in one of his most recent publications (*Italianische Plastik*, Berlin, 1893, p. 79). In the *Portata* to the Catasto of 1457, however, the joint declaration of himself, his brothers, and sisters, as inheritors of their father's property after his death, his age is stated as 22, which would place his birth at the time generally accepted, 1435. This date I accept also, for the following reasons. First, that in a statement made in combination with the whole family there is more than a double chance of its being correct; secondly, that the ages given by the brothers and sisters in this document follow each other in natural sequence; thirdly, that if we accept 1437 as the date of Andrea's birth, Simone, who gives his age in this document of 1457 as 20, would have been born in the same year, whereas, accepting 1435, he falls naturally into place as Andrea's junior by two years.

Signor Milanese, in his Genealogical Tree of the Robbia family, gives decidedly the date of Andrea's birth as 1435. He gives not the year only, but the very day—28th October. I have tried vainly, with the assistance of the Directors of the Archivio di Stato and of the Opera del Duomo, to find his authority for this statement. That it was not in the Baptismal Register of

very different character to his uncle, like him in earnestness and loyalty, but less steadfast and strong, apparently an impressionable, easily-influenced man. This we gather from the sensitive, almost timid character of his work, his variability and self-effacement, for of his private life we know as little as of Luca's. He was no sculptor of marble and bronze in the grand style of his uncle, as his unsuccessful attempt at Arezzo proves.¹ His gentle pliable nature expressed itself better in glazed terra-cotta, whose softened hues and surface accord well with the slighter quality of his art. Thus, where before the classic grandeur of Luca's creations, we feel dissatisfaction that they are not executed in a more massive material, so with Andrea's charming reliefs, whose milky whites and blues inevitably suggest homely comparisons, we appreciate the harmony between the artist and his medium.

The care bestowed by Luca upon Andrea's education is

S. Giovanni is certain, for the first record kept of the names of the children baptized there is of 1450. Before this time the number of births was registered merely by throwing balls into two vases—a white ball for the females, a black ball for the males—which were counted at the end of every month and the general record of births thus ascertained. Neither is any reference to the date of his birth to be found in the record of his death, which is noted in the account books of the Guild of Masters in Stone and Wood. (*Campione dell' Arte de' Maestri di Pietra e di Legname*, 1465-1522). Some authority, however, the late Signor Milanese probably had, for with his power of access to the documents, he is our most reliable guide in questions of facts, though, unfortunately for the student, he did not always give his sources of information.

A similar discrepancy in statements as to age is found in Luca's own Declarations to the Catasto. Simone, his father, in his *Portata* of 1427 gives it as 27, and as this document is dated July (it is rare to find the month indicated in these documents), we thus gather the date of his birth to be 1400 or the end of 1399. In Luca's last declaration of 1480, however (Doc. xxiv.), he gives his age as 82, which, if correct, places the date of his birth at 1398.

With reference to these well-known misstatements as to age, Gaye writes, in his notice of Paolo Uccello: "*In the four Portate of this painter cited by me, three times he contradicts himself regarding the date of his birth*" (Gaye, *Cart. Ined.*, vol. i. p. 146). Probably the same misstatements would be found in a modern census.

¹ The Marble Altar in the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie, a late work, mostly executed by Giovanni, but with parts which seem to be by Andrea himself.

proved by the excellence of his work, which, as far as technical skill goes, is almost equal to Luca's. That he early undertook independent commissions the decorations of the Loggia of the Ospedale degli Innocenti show, which were executed between 1463 and 1466, when he was about thirty years old. In 1465, during the progress of this work, he married Giovanna, daughter of Piero di Ser Lorenzo di Paolo, a girl of only sixteen, and received with her as dowry 266 gold florins (Doc. xx.).

Our next insight into the private life of the Robbia family is given us by Andrea himself. In 1470 he also made his Declaration of property to the Catasto as an independent householder, and from it we learn that his young wife Giovanna, then only twenty-one, had already borne him three sons. These were Antonio, Marco, and Giovanni, aged at that time respectively three, two, and one (Doc. xxi.). Although the Declaration of the heirs of Marco proves that they were not left financially dependent upon Luca, yet all were living under the same roof after the Italian fashion in the Via Guelfa. At this date Andrea's finances were not in a flourishing condition. He himself declares: "*I am indebted to my uncle for much money, and own but little property.*" That he was practically independent of his uncle, however, we are assured by the direct evidence of Luca himself in his Will made the following year, 1471 (Doc. xxii.). Here with admirable justice he bequeaths to his nephew Simone all his goods and money, with the exception of a few legacies, since, by instructing Andrea in the art of sculpture, he had already provided him with a lucrative profession, in which he was now able to take the position of Master and provide amply for his family, while to Simone he had given no instruction at all. No wealth, he winds up, with true Renaissance appreciation of learning, is equal to the gift he had bestowed upon Andrea, the gift of education in his own art, and so, wishing that Simone also may receive something from him, he appoints him heir to all his goods.

That Luca was held in the highest esteem both as an artist and as a citizen is proved by the fact that in 1471 he was offered the honourable post of President of the Guild of Masters in Stone and Wood, an office which, however, he declined, alleging that his great age and infirmities would prevent his fulfilling its duties without risk to his health (Doc. xxiii.). He was then seventy-one years of age, and although he had still ten years to live, and had declared himself, in his testament of the year before, "*sound in mind, body, sense, sight, and intellect*," we may conclude from this statement to the Guild that his artistic activity had almost ceased, at least that he was too infirm to undertake large works. In the sculptures which appear to be his latest, the decorations of the Chapels of Impruneta, he was evidently greatly assisted by Andrea, and these cannot for substantial reasons be placed after 1472, and probably are of a much earlier date.¹

In 1480 Luca made his last Declaration to the Catasto (Doc. xxiv.), a document which contains nothing of fresh interest, but in which, curiously enough, he gives his age as eighty-two, in direct contradiction to the statement of his father in the year 1427.² He died two years later, in 1482, and was buried in the family vault in the Church of S. Pier Maggiore. Of his burial-place no trace remains, for the entire building, save the façade, which still faces the Borgo degli Albizzi, was destroyed by fire in the last century.³

Meanwhile the family of Andrea was yearly increasing.

¹ The architecture of both chapels is the work of Michelozzo, who died 1472.

² See Note, p. 26.

³ A view of the church before destruction is to be seen in Zocchi's "Città di Firenze." Firenze, 1744, T. xvii. Vasari, in his first edition, adds that his memory was in after years honoured by the following epitaph:—

*"Terra, vivi per me cara e gradita
Che all' acqua e à ghiacci come il marmo induri;
Per che quanto men cedi o ti maturi
Tanto più la mia fama in terra la vita."*

—VASARI, ii. 181, Note 1.

After Giovanni came four sons in rapid succession, Francesco, Paolo, Luca, and Girolamo, the latter born in 1488, after the death of Luca. To the necessity of providing for so many must be attributed in part the commercial character the *bottega* began to assume about this time. All the sons (five out of the seven, we know as a certainty) seem to have been trained in the family art, albeit only two, Giovanni and Girolamo, inherited in any degree the family genius. Of this bewildering family we shall speak fully in Part IV., here merely mentioning that two if not three of the sons fell under the influence of Savonarola and took the Dominican habit in the Convent of S. Marco, while continuing at the same time their business as potters — we can call them little else.

With the death of Luca the last restraint was removed, and the mercantile element developed more and more. The main effort appears to have been to turn out as large a quantity of work as the hastiest execution would permit. Of the steady deterioration of the art we have already given a slight sketch, and shall study it more fully in considering the later works of Andrea, those of Giovanni, and of the other members of the family.

But however scanty the talent may have been among the sons of Andrea, the diligence was at least remarkable, and it brought with it its financial reward. Andrea, who in his *Portata* to the Catasto of 1470 declares himself to be possessed of but little property, in 1498 appears to have been in the most flourishing circumstances (Doc. xxix.). Additions to the property in the Via Guelfa had been made, a field adjoining it, and another house which was let to a tenant. Also a *podere* had been bought in the parish of S. Giorgio a Ruballa, with olives, vineyards, and fruit-trees. It was prosperity somewhat dearly bought when one considers the productions of this date. Trained in the conscientious methods of Luca, the most scrupulous and self-respecting of artists,

Andrea could hardly have allowed some of these later altarpieces to have issued from his *bottega* without qualms of self-reproach. In his encouragement, or at least acceptance, of its commercial character, and in his careless education of his sons, we cannot but see signs of that moral weakness and timidity we have ascribed to him.

The Robbias were a vigorous and long-lived family. Luca was in his eighty-third year when he died, and Andrea lived to the great age of ninety, remaining the nominal head of the *bottega* till within ten years at least of his death. Neither did he entirely give up work, for although most of the reliefs produced in his name are obviously not by him, yet in 1510 he executed one of the best and strongest works of his life, the bust of the Protonotary Almadiano of Viterbo.

He died on August 4, 1525, as is noted in the account books of the Guild of Masters in Stone and Wood,¹ and was buried with Luca in the family vault of S. Pier Maggiore. Vasari knew him, and gives the following personal record of him: "*I being still a child and talking with him, heard him boast greatly of having been chosen to carry Donatello to his burial; and I remember that the good old man, speaking of it, gloried thereat exceedingly.*"² His portrait (if we may trust Vasari's statement), painted in 1510 by Andrea del Sarto, is to be seen in the first fresco left of entrance in the Cloister of the SS. Annunziata (The Healing of Children by the Garments of S. Philip), and shows him as a grey-haired old man, clad in red, leaning upon a staff, with exactly the sensitive, half-timid expression in the delicate face we should have expected from his work.

From such slight biographical notices little can be gathered of the character of the two men, Luca and Andrea della Robbia.

¹ Alongside of the last entry concerning Andrea in these documents is the following contemporary note: "*† morì a dì 4 d'agosta 1525.*" (Arch. di Stato. Il Campione dell' Arte de' Maestri di Pietra e di Legname. 1465-1522. A carte 505.)

² Vasari, ii. 181.

And yet in spite of the dearth of incident, they stand out to us clear, well-defined, sharply-contrasted personalities. The Artist can be known by his works when the impulse for these is true and strong and from within. Such it was invariably with Luca, whose individuality is revealed thereby as clearly as volumes of memoirs could make it. Such it was in his earlier work and occasionally up to the last, with Andrea, sufficient at least to give us, if not so substantial a figure, indications that fix his personality well in the mind. Such works show us Luca as a man of adamant, inflexible of will and purpose, energetic, earnest, and truthful—a man with the highest standard of life as of art, optimistic and self-reliant. And Andrea they show almost as a contrast, a man earnest and truthful indeed, but lacking those qualities of strength and determination by which earnestness and truthfulness acquire their highest value; a man whose instinctive sincerity has been warped by timidity and lack of stability, but who remains, nevertheless, full of charm and sweetness. Our ignorance of their private life leaves us free to appreciate the broad significant features of character revealed by their art, undisturbed by anecdote, which being necessarily fragmentary and partial, can hardly give so true a portrait. From their works we construct for ourselves, in Luca one of the stateliest, in Andrea one of the gentlest and sweetest figures of the fifteenth century.¹

¹ I have not reproduced the so-called portrait of Luca della Robbia given in the second edition of his *Vite*, chiefly because it seems to be quite unauthenticated, and partly also because its *baroque* surroundings strike too discordant and unpleasant a note.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF LUCA'S ART

AT the beginning of the fifteenth century sculpture, which in the time of Giotto and the Giottesques had fallen behind the sister art of painting, had again taken the lead, and become the chief interpreter of Florentine thought and progress. This had been achieved chiefly by the genius of one man, the Colossus of Renaissance Art—Donatello. His mastery of technique had freed art from every restriction. He had solved every problem, broken down every barrier which had hampered the free flight of imagination, given absolute independence to the artist to express at will the most vigorous manifestations of animal life or the most complex emotions of the mind. At one bound from the dry stiff forms of Andrea Pisano, fettered by Gothic tradition and ecclesiastic symbolism, sculpture had attained complete freedom, by which it was able to embody in perfect physical forms the ideals and emotions which were stirring the minds of men.

With the breaking of these fetters the consciousness of efficiency inclined the artist to exercise his technical power as an end in itself, like a liberated prisoner who, after years of inertia, rejoices in mere muscular action. Play of muscle, transitory movements, fleeting expression, all the phenomena of life most difficult to seize and register, were reproduced in marble and bronze with an almost inartistic realism. To render depth of space, aerial perspective—effects lying outside the province of sculpture—was sought with patience and persistence, and it may be said in passing, with small good to the art. Even with the greatest masters—even

with Donatello himself—we are conscious at times of the interest in experiment preponderating over the thought and theme. The study of the human frame, its construction and movement, was conducted more in the spirit of the surgeon than the artist; the passion for perspective threatened to reduce composition to a mechanical formula; individual character, insignificant emotions, were exposed with the minuteness of the psychologist, and the themes of the Church were used either as subject-matter for working out these interests, or as illustrations of everyday domestic life and for the introduction of portraits. The spirit of the fifteenth century, even at its commencement, was thoroughly realistic, if by realism is understood truth to Nature in all her aspects, comely and otherwise, lack of selectiveness, and suppression of the ideal and symbolic in favour of the purely objective.

Ever since the days of Giotto, the first great realist of the Renaissance, the Florentine artists had sought to emancipate themselves from Symbolism. They had grown more and more to centre their interest in the object represented for its own sake, independent of emblematic meaning. The joy of external life, from which men had so long been shut out by mediæval asceticism, had returned with a headlong rush. With the Humanist revival the desire to enjoy life as it actually is, to represent it as it actually appears, in forms freed from didactic tradition, gave the first impulse towards realistic treatment in art. Foremost among humanists, as among sculptors, chief leader then as now, after five hundred years, stands out the great figure of Donatello. He it was who had realised the aims for which all earnest workers since the days of Giotto had been striving. He had overthrown all obstacles, and opened up a new world of artistic possibilities hitherto undreamed of. Not only had he absolute command over the laws of anatomy and all that belongs to external form, but a wonderful comprehension of, and sympathy for, the inner workings of the

human being. His psychological understanding has rarely been surpassed, witness his conception of the Baptist as boy and as man, his Poggio, and his *Zuccone*, among the most subtle renderings of emotional complexities achieved in portraiture, whether by pen, brush, or chisel. He was able also to animate his figures with that concentration, that double-distilled essence of life, rarely seen in life itself. It was all one to this many-sided artist whether he expressed this concentrated life in the exuberant physical joy men had but just learnt to desire, or in that strenuous mind-working which was their heritage from mediæval Christianity. Donatello is both Pagan and Christian, and which element preponderates in him it would be difficult to decide. As the mind turns from the bronze Baptist of the Berlin Museum, and the Magdalen of the Florence Baptistery, to the S. George of the Bargello, the S. Lorenzo bust, and the romping children of the Prato Pulpit, the versatility of the intellect which could comprehend and so sympathetically represent these extremes of human emotion must needs astonish us.

The two chief elements of his epoch were interpreted by him, its new-born *Lebenslust* and pride in human power, and its interest in individual character. With his mastery over tools and material Donatello was free to devote his energies to the portrayal of all that most attracted him in physical and psychological development. He was the spokesman for his time, with whose complex interests he was so completely in touch. In his vigorous interpretation of its robust self-reliance, its energy and bodily enjoyment, in his sympathetic comprehension of its mental and psychological subtleties, lies Donatello's chief claim to immortality.

There is no possibility of comparison between Donatello and his contemporaries, not even with so intellectual an artist as Luca della Robbia. His vast and comprehensive genius places him *hors de concours* among the sculptors of the world as Shakespeare among the poets. He felt and interpreted

not one but all the sides of his strenuous age, which concentrated all human interests, past, present, and to come, in its strong essence of vitality.

Even Ghiberti, the second in fame among the sculptors of the early fifteenth century, dwindles beside him. A consummate artist in his own line, inventive and perfect as a craftsman, Ghiberti had neither Donatello's creative power, his intellect, nor his imagination. Still less had he Donatello's comprehensiveness. He had not the superabundance of genius which gave Donatello so strong a grip on the spirit of humanity at large. Ghiberti was by temperament without interest in human emotions, and his ideals were, we gather from both his art and his writings, purely external. The perfection of physical grace was what he chiefly sought. It was the limit of his vision. Individual character did not exist for him, and in this respect his art is as impersonal and typical as the Greeks', but he is without the Greek power of extracting the significant, and therefore never, in the true sense of the word, classic. He was too much absorbed in the search for grace and elegance to pay attention to the more virile aspects of beauty. With all his innovating tendencies he retains the traditional tusk-like curve of Gothic sculpture. A long sweeping line of drapery pleased him better than one which more structurally accentuates the form beneath. Ghiberti's line, a little exaggerated, develops to the swirls and spirals of the draperies of Agostino Duccio, where the structure of the body is ignored in smoke-like curves and convolutions. The grandest sculpture by its rejection of the insignificant must be to a certain extent rugged and stern, and the art of Ghiberti in its grace, delicacy, and attention to detail, is rather that of the missal painter or ivory carver than of the sculptor in marble and bronze.

To the scientific problems of the day, however, Ghiberti dedicated himself with as keen a zest as Donatello, and in

intention was as uncompromising a realist. What he saw he endeavoured to represent with absolute fidelity, only his vision was less keen and true. His own words affirm his scientific preoccupations and his efforts at a faithful representation of Nature: "*From my earliest days . . . I have always sought to discover how Nature reveals herself in Art, and how I may best draw near to her; how forms really present themselves to the eye . . . on what principles the arts of painting and of sculpture should be practised.*" And again: "*I forced myself with all my powers to seek to imitate Nature as closely as was possible to me.*"¹

The main practical interests of Ghiberti and Donatello were the same, *i.e.* the exploiting to the uttermost the technical possibilities of sculpture—the freeing of Art from traditional restrictions. We know how profound were his studies of perspective, in the practice of which, indeed, he was the expertest of his time. He was the chief master of high relief as Donatello of the more legitimate methods, and however we may object to his violation of the laws of sculpture in his too pictorial treatment, his rank as the most proficient craftsman of his day cannot be denied.

These two great sculptors, Donatello and Ghiberti, were the ruling artistic forces in Florence when Luca della Robbia was a boy, and from them he received such impressions as his singularly independent and stable character permitted. He was, however, one of the most original and self-reliant of artists, as much the creator of a style as Donatello himself, and with aims and characteristics as clearly defined. But with all his self-dependence, his maintenance of his own personality and purposes, and steady pursuit of his own artistic ideals, he would not have been the true and ingenuous artist he was had he not adopted and assimilated something from his great contemporaries.

¹ Ghiberti's "Commentaries." (See Cicognara, "Storia della Scultura," ii. pp. 219 and 222.)

The independence of Luca was entirely unconscious and simple. Externally he imitated the forms of both Donatello and Ghiberti with the generous frankness characteristic of the man and of his time. So much indeed does he imitate Ghiberti, so many and strong are the indications of his influence, that although no corroborating document has yet been discovered, it is generally accepted as a fact that he must have learnt from him the rudiments of his art. If this supposition (originated by Baldinucci) be correct, Luca would have been one of the many apprentices employed by Ghiberti while at work on the first gates of the Baptistery (1403-1424), and it is in fact these very sculptures which are impressed so strongly on his memory. Even in his later years he imitates the composition of the scenes, the decorations, &c., while totally rejecting and tacitly disapproving of the more redundant and pictorial treatment of the so-called Gates of Paradise. The first gates of Ghiberti are indelibly stamped on his mind, as is the case only with impressions received in early youth. His own Bronze Doors, which were not begun till middle life, are in much actually imitated from them. The figures of the Evangelists and Fathers of the Church,¹ their attitudes, the treatment of the relief, and the ornamental heads projecting from the quatrefoil, are directly copied; his Resurrection, executed in 1443, is in general composition taken from Ghiberti's relief of the same theme; and besides such obvious imitations, we find a tendency to the same long flowing lines of drapery and the same graceful slender forms, although with Luca grace is invariably subordinated to strength.

His adaptation of fruit, flowers, and foliage to frames, his manner of grouping and natural treatment of them, Luca seems also to have taken from Ghiberti, although with

¹ Ghiberti, of course, himself followed closely the original gate of Andrea Pisano, especially in these figures. Luca seems to have received his impressions rather through Ghiberti's imitations than from the original model.

characteristic restraint he avoids the introduction of animal life, the undercutting, and too realistic imitation which grew upon Ghiberti.¹ To Ghiberti besides he owes one of his most beautiful forms, the buoyant angel with large scythe-like wings which we find so often in his works. The genius of Ghiberti never rose so high as in these beautiful floating figures, which Luca, instinctively extracting the best, imitates with the frankest simplicity.

Taking into consideration the differences of character between Luca and Ghiberti (and they could scarcely be greater), it seems certain that no natural affinity would have drawn him to take Ghiberti as a model. Much more readily would the virile energy of Donatello have appealed to his sympathies. The undeniable impression made upon him by Ghiberti is to be best explained therefore, as Baldinucci "and the best critics of his age" explain it, by educational influence and suggestion received in childhood.

The influence of Ghiberti, however, is limited to external form, for the art of the two sculptors has fundamentally nothing in common. The artistic ideals of Luca were nobler and purer than Ghiberti's, and his instincts were truer. Ghiberti's classicism was but skin-deep, and did not prevent him from treating bas-relief in a manner which would have been a horror to a sculptor of the days of Pericles. Ghiberti had none of the selectiveness, the suppression of everything trivial, which is the main characteristic of classic art. He adopted certain of its forms because he was impressed by their beauty, but he was either unconscious of, or unable to imitate, its fundamental spirit. Donatello has more affinity with the spirit of Greek art in his sympathy for the joy of eternal life, though (true interpreter of the Renaissance movement as he was) this was but one of his many sides, and he carves with equal feeling the pagan dances which might

¹ In the frame of Ghiberti's first gates is a branch of pine cones and needles precisely similar to those so constantly introduced by Luca in his garlands, &c.

have adorned a Bacchic Temple, and the ascetic Magdalens and fervid Baptists so thoroughly expressive of mediæval Christianity.

Luca is more truly in touch with the spirit of antique art than either Ghiberti or Donatello, or indeed than any sculptor or painter of his time. He has instinctively the purity of taste and self-restraint of the Greek sculptors, as well as their selectiveness and avoidance of the insignificant. Nothing could be more truly Greek than the sculptures of his marble Cantoria, with their pure form, their flattened surface, their balance and rhythmic movement, above all with that lyric quality which is so subtle yet so essential a part of Greek art. Even his types are Greek, with their clear-cut regular features, broad low foreheads and level brows. His work has the simplicity, the breadth, and as a result, the stateliness of antique sculpture. All unessential detail is suppressed, the total effect never for a moment lost sight of. While frankly adopting certain lines and forms from Ghiberti, he avoids with keenest insight all Ghiberti's errors. The sweeping draperies, the graceful curves of body, the floating movement, the dainty gesture—all these he imitates; but his lines are more structural, his bodies more vigorous. To Ghiberti beauty meant elegance, to Luca the perfection of strength; and in this selection of the most powerful types, male and female, he is again in touch with the best period of Greek art.

It is significant of Luca's instinctive purity of taste that while the Florentines, artists as well as populace, were wild with admiration of the so-called Gates of Paradise, marvelling at the dexterity with which effects of space, distance, and even of atmosphere were obtained, Luca, composing his own bronze doors at about the same time, treats them with a severity, a rigid simplicity, which is almost like a rebuke.¹ No contrast

¹ Ghiberti's second gates were commissioned 1425. Models completed 1440. Casting finished 1447. Set up only in 1452. Luca's doors commissioned 1446.

could be greater than these two monumental works. Ghiberti's, overpassing the limits of sculpture, with their multiplicity of figures on receding planes, their free-relief, undercutting, and redundancy of ornament and detail; Luca's, severe to sternness, the solidity of background insisted on, the composition accurately balanced, and no line permitted that is not essential to the whole effect. Ghiberti, effacing the solidity and strength of the bronze, and creating what has been justly likened to the cover of a colossal missal; Luca, accentuating the massive and defensive character, which doors, *being* a means of defence, should retain. Yet it is in these very doors that we find the closest imitation of Ghiberti's earlier work, a fact significant of the frankness of Luca's nature and the unconsciousness of his independence. From such examples it will be seen that although Luca was influenced by and adopted certain of Ghiberti's external forms and mannerisms, he was entirely personal and self-reliant in his methods of art. He received his true impressions directly from antiquity, whether through Roman copies or Greek originals it is impossible to say; but whatever examples he had, he succeeded in extracting from them the essential spirit of Hellenic art.

As much or as little Luca received from Donatello, imitating him less in externals, but more in spiritual characteristics. His figures have the concentration and intellectual energy peculiar to Donatello, though it shows itself chiefly in expression, for they are nearly always tranquil, never nervous, and rarely dramatic. In his one existing portrait, the recumbent statue of Bishop Federighi, he is as profoundly psychological as Donatello himself, and proves in his treatment of that gaunt, worn face, that he possesses as keen an insight into the soul's complexities. The influence of Donatello was undoubtedly felt by Luca as by every one of his contemporaries. We see it in his dances of children in the Cantoria, although he is more sober and restrained. Above all, we see it in his

"Philosophers" of the Campanile, the one thoroughly dramatic work of his life, a group executed with the *brio* and energy of Donatello himself.

But try as we may to find the art of Luca a mere offshoot of the older generation of sculptors, his originality and self-dependence become only the more apparent. In reality, he owed but little to his environment, and he would probably have expressed himself in a manner essentially the same had there been no Ghiberti to educate his youthful tastes and no Donatello to stimulate his energies. His work is personal and self-expressive, and its originality stands out vividly against the background of the imitative work of his lesser contemporaries.

At the time when the obsession of technique, of scientific experiment and realistic representation were threatening almost to efface the imaginative side of art, Luca never lost sight of its deeper meaning and purpose. Technique with him was but the means to an end. The problems of his craft, and all the processes whereby freedom for self-expression were obtained, he had mastered as thoroughly as Donatello or Ghiberti, but never did scientific interests absorb him to the detriment of the idea to be expressed. Where most of his contemporaries were using their themes as a vehicle for the display of new discoveries in perspective and other scientific interests, working out geometrical problems like Paolo Uccello, physiological laws like Signorelli and Pollaiuolo, in scenes from the most cosmic legends of the Church, Luca, with all his science, never forgot the spiritual meaning of his subject. In an age of realism, of artists absorbed in the physical and psychological complications of humanity, Luca, while soberly sharing its interests, never forgot the law of art—the law laid down by the early Greek sculptors—*Allgemeinheit*, as Winckelmann called it, the instinct which (to quote Pater) "*prompted them constantly to seek the type in the individual, to purge from the individual all that belongs only to the individual, all the accidents,*

*feelings, actions of a special moment . . . to abstract and express only what is structural and permanent."*¹

This comparative abstraction from the dominating contemporary interests prevented Luca from attracting disciples and forming a school outside his own immediate family. Even these—his own kin, the inheritors of his teaching and traditions—once his personal influence was removed, veered round to the more dramatic and realistic style of Donatello and his imitators. Even Andrea himself, as we shall see later, exchanged his simple treatment for the artificial mannerisms of Verrocchio. Luca's impersonal tranquillity, his simplicity and directness, found few imitators in an age desirous of exhibiting its new-found powers, an age already tending towards the dramatic and emotional art of the following century. The art of Luca was always serene, earnest and thoughtful, but entirely free from any sort of emotionalism or love of display.

He has been called the Idealist in an age of Realism, specially representative of its religious and spiritual side, and certainly his treatment of the Christian themes argues profound conviction and reverence. He never, like so many of his contemporaries, attempted to secularise and turn them into mere scenes of everyday life, but touches them on their loftiest and most imaginative side. He is religious in the widest, truest meaning of the word, in his recognition of the nobler elements in humanity and the truth of high ideals. He was an incomparable interpreter of the Church's teaching, because, while his science enabled him to give convincing reality to her themes, he emphasizes their symbolic and spiritual meaning. As Donatello was before all the interpreter of the intellectual ability, the energy and self-sufficiency of humanity, as Ghiberti of its physical grace and charm, so was Luca of its spiritual tendencies and aspirations. He was not, however, like Fra Angelico, content with the expression of moral beauty only,

¹ Pater, "The Renaissance," London, 1877, p. 71.

but embodied it in the stateliest, most vigorous forms, as became his classic proclivities.

Indeed, the main characteristic of Luca's sculptures is vigour. Spontaneity and vital force are absent from none of them. His figures are invariably robust and athletic. It is this blending of a splendid *physique* with spiritual purity and radiance which is his greatest gift to fifteenth century art.

Since with few exceptions his themes are those of the Church, it will be as well to see in what spirit he approaches them and where he chiefly diverges from previous and contemporary representation. In his broad and significant conception of his subject he more nearly resembles Giotto than any other Florentine artist, for Giotto also embodied universal ideals in the imagery of the Church. In Luca's own day the reaction from didactic symbolism had begun to take the form of a commonplace realism, and where before the human element had been ignored, now it was the turn of the divine to be forgotten. The unconvincing imagery of the earlier schools, whose meaning had to be explained by a scroll, had given place to a treatment so natural, that the idea supposed to be embodied was for the most part conspicuous by its absence. Donatello forgets the God in his realistic representation of human agony; Ghiberti and Paolo Uccello make the most solemn subjects subordinate to their interests in perspective.¹ A little later we know how completely secularised the treatment became, so that we have to search for the subject-matter among a group of portraits or some household scene conceived in the most mundane spirit. The art of Luca stands midway between the earlier symbolism and the growing realism of his own day. Take, for example, his most usual conception of the Madonna. He accentuates her superhuman side, giving

¹ Donatello, in the Crucifixes of S. Croce and Padua. Ghiberti, noticeably in his "Marriage of the Virgin," in the East Gates, where the chief figures are well-nigh lost in the confused crowd and deep architectural perspective. Paolo Uccello's grotesquely foreshortened figure of God the Father in the Chiostr Verde will occur to every one.

her as stately and hieratic a bearing as the old Byzantine type. She is solemn, at times almost severe—the High Priestess and Mediatrix between God and Man. He chooses for her a form such as the Greeks gave to their Goddess of Victory, of the grandest physical development, large, athletic, and strong, and the type of face is Greek also. But while laying stress on her impersonal and Divine aspect, he connects her closely with humanity in her earnestness and her maternity. She differs essentially from the earlier Byzantine type—which, abstracted from humanity, presents the child so coldly to the worship of man—in the intimacy and tenderness of her relation to the child. Nothing could be more human than the Madonna of Luca della Robbia, but it is humanity at its noblest, where it approaches to and mingles with the Divine.

His Christ-Child is conceived also in his divine aspect ; but again, with that peculiar blending of the two natures, is very child-like and simple, far more simple than Desiderio's, Verrocchio's, or Andrea della Robbia's. *Ego sum Lux Mundi* his radiant glance says, even when he does not bear the legend. He is the Divinity clothed momentarily in human flesh and radiating his Godhead by an inspired far-seeing glance, but he retains also the unconscious simplicity of infancy, and is free from didacticism or affectation.

Luca conceives humanity always in its noblest aspect, its highest physical and spiritual development, in this revealing again his close connection with the spirit of antique art. He ignores as unworthy of artistic representation all that is transitory or commonplace. His figures are stately, reserved, and impersonal, expressive only of the deep and fundamental emotions. They have the fearless, free-souled bearing of the Greek statue, superbly unconscious of all in life that is not noble and serene.

In his treatment of more secular subjects, as when depicting the joyous dances of children in his Cantoria, Luca preserves a certain sobriety, and is never exuberant. The merriest, most

energetic of his romping *putti* has something rhythmic and sedate in movement and gesture. In his reliefs of the Campanile he conceives his scenes with a romance and poetry suggestive of the lyric quality of Greek sculpture, though superficially following the traditional Giottesque style. Luca, who perhaps adopted less consciously than Donatello or Ghiberti the externals of antique art, is instinctively and by affinity of temperament the most purely classic among fifteenth century artists.

To sum up the spiritual qualities of his art. He has the classic breadth of conception and treatment, the classic selection of the significant, the classic tranquillity, the classic unconsciousness of the spectator. In an age of realism he remains true to imaginative and poetic ideals. He combines with the classic reserve and purity of taste a freshness and buoyancy all the more invigorating because held in restraint, and he has, in addition, a profound earnestness and religious solemnity, which were his inheritance from Byzantine traditions. No artist of the Renaissance, not even Donatello, has united so harmoniously the finest qualities of Hellenic and early Christian Art.

His technical methods are in accord with these spiritual characteristics, bold, simple, and direct. He works with breadth and unity, extracting from marble and bronze their special properties of grandeur and strength—that suggestion of coherent massiveness, of having been hewn out of a solid block, which is the essential of noble sculpture. Even in his glazed terra-cottas it is with difficulty we realise that their marble-like surface is but an incrustation, in so solid and sculptural a manner are they treated.

He composes his scenes with true classic feeling for rhythm and balance, grouping the figures symmetrically, and even in his larger works, such as the Cantoria and the Bronze Doors, never losing sight of the whole effect. Each relief is a perfectly built up, self-contained scene, but each is composed to take its share in a general scheme.

His anatomical modelling is of the greatest science and beauty, suggestive of the construction of bone and muscle rather than realistic, indicating in the subtlest and truest manner the delicate variations of surface, while retaining the general breadth and significance. It is this combination of breadth and delicacy which makes Luca's work so satisfying and its interest so inexhaustible. His Cantoria, for example, seen with the unaided eye is fully as effective and homogeneous as Donatello's, while the minutest investigation only reveals fresh beauties in the delicate modelling of the limbs, subtle curves and lines, and a thousand interests of movement and expression.

In his draperies he omits all that is not necessary to the accentuation of the form beneath. Not a fold, not a line is introduced for any other purpose. In particular he keeps them severely plain over the breast and shoulders, a peculiarity we shall find nearly invariable. Simplicity and directness in all his methods is the chief characteristic of his work.

Significance, breadth, and simplicity—the qualities we find in the Olympian sculptures and in the best art of all times—these are the technical characteristics of Luca della Robbia's art; imagination, earnestness, and virility their spiritual equivalents. Expressive of but one side of the Renaissance movement he may be, but it is its noblest, most pregnant side. As the craftsman who cultivated to perfection the technical possibilities of sculpture, and as the interpreter of the intellectual, and in the broadest sense of the word, the religious emotions of his epoch, Luca ranks below none of his contemporaries. What he expresses, optimism, faith in ideals and in the nobler human qualities, he expresses convincingly and emphatically; what he leaves unsaid, though historically important as part of humanity's struggle towards a solution of the riddle of life, is of less artistic value.



Altare Firenze

THE CANTORIA

LUCA DELLA ROBbia. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

CHAPTER III

THE CANTORIA—THE CAMPANILE RELIEFS— THE ALTAR OF S. PETER

BEFORE attempting any chronological order of the presumably earlier works of Luca della Robbia, or touching on his enamelled terra-cottas, we begin the study of his sculpture with the marble Cantoria or Singing Gallery now in the Museo del Duomo, not only because it is the first work whose date is ascertained, but because it is the most important, and in some respects the finest of his creations, and illustrates at once all the grand qualities that have just been attributed to him.

He appears to have received the commission in 1431, and it was probably not completed till 1438, the work thus representing seven of his ripest years.¹

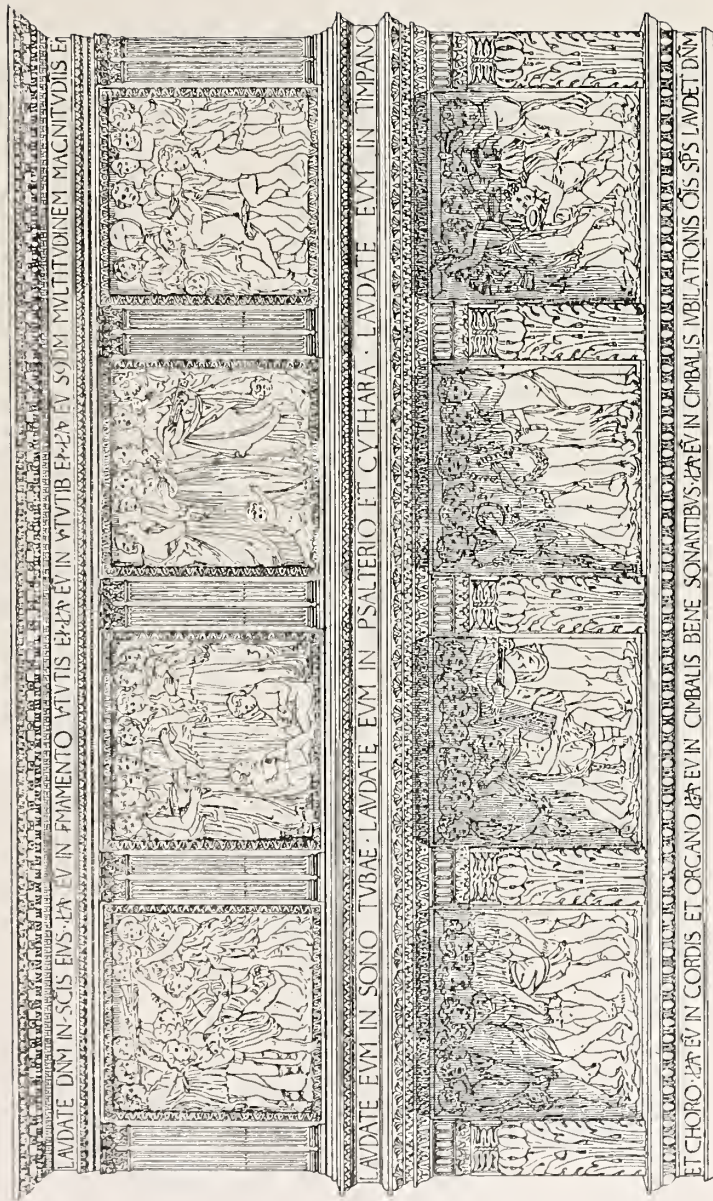
As the Cantoria now appears on the walls of the Museo, the whole of the upper part of the architecture is modern restoration in *stucco*, nothing but the carved panels being Luca's original work. This restoration was made by the late architect of the Opera del Duomo, Professor del Moro, following the somewhat vague description given in one of the documents of payment (Doc. ii. 20). A most important discovery made within the last few years by the present architect, Cav. Guiseppe Castellucci, shows how far this restoration deviates from Luca's design, chance having brought to light fragments of the original carving sufficient to make possible a reconstruction of nearly the whole of the balcony.

¹ The first document is of October 4, 1431, in which the work is referred to as already commissioned (Doc. ii. 1). The first payment is of April 9, 1432 (Doc. ii. 2). On May 26, 1438, it is spoken of as already completed (Doc. ii. 23), and on August 28, 1438, as in its place over the sacristy door (Doc. ii. 24).

The destruction of the Gallery, like that of so many precious works of *quattrocento* art, is due to the vitiated taste of the late seventeenth century, its contempt for everything simple and severe.

In 1688, on the occasion of the marriage of Ferdinando de' Medici with the Princess Violante of Bavaria, the upper portions of both Luca's and Donatello's *Cantorie* were removed, as inadequate to the number of singers and instruments required for the ceremonial, and large balconies of carved and painted wood were substituted. The lower parts, including the brackets, were, however, left intact upon the wall, to serve as supports for these new wooden balconies. They remained in their original position in the Duomo until as late as 1845, in which year they were taken down, and the present insignificant stone galleries erected in their place. The lower portion of both *Cantorie* having been carefully removed to the Uffizi are thus in a state of perfect preservation. The balconies, on the contrary, broken up in 1688, were considered of so little value that nothing but the sculptured reliefs were preserved, and these were but carelessly laid aside in a store-room of the Opera del Duomo and completely forgotten. As for the architectural parts, the cornice, pilasters, mouldings, &c., they were, as we shall see presently, used as old marble for repairs, a piece of vandalism hard to believe but for the evidence of our own eyes.

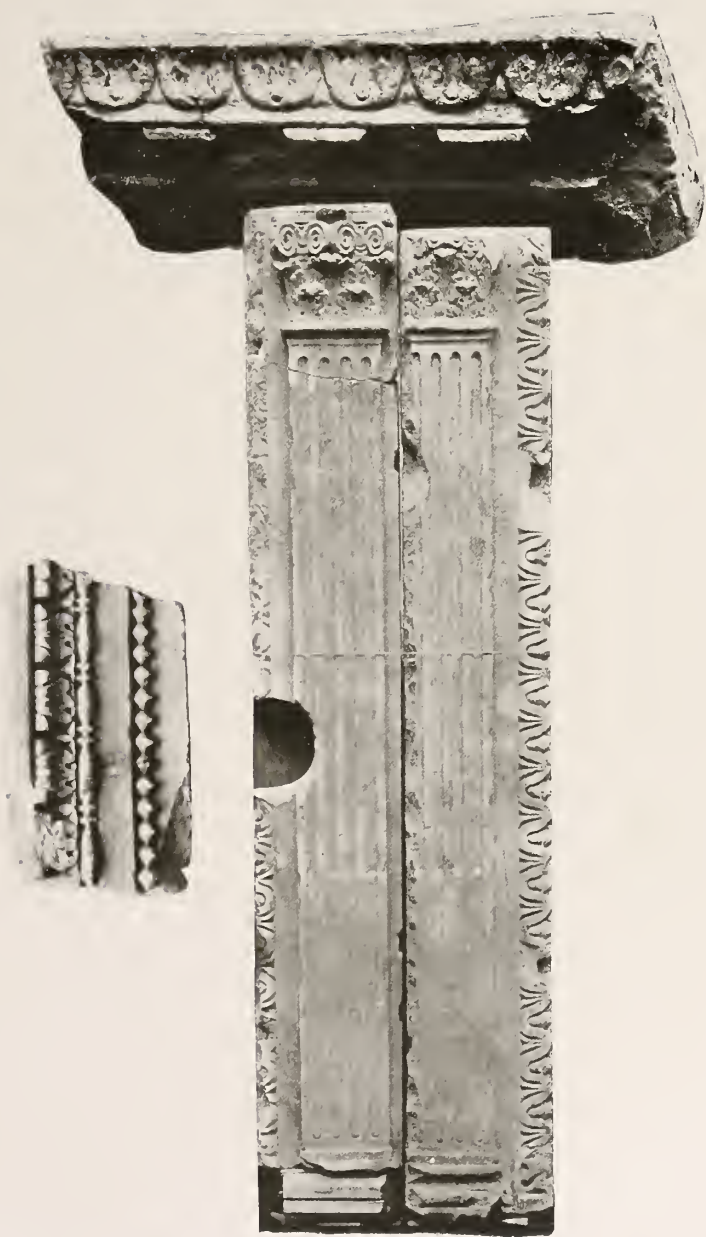
Meanwhile the eight reliefs were left forgotten in the store-room of the Opera del Duomo for more than a hundred years, after which their value was so far recognised that with other neglected sculptures (including Donatello's frieze of dancing *putti* and Luca's two sculptures for the Altar of S. Peter) they were placed in the gallery of the Uffizi. From thence they were removed to the Museo Nazionale, together with their lower parts and brackets, and there they remained until the reconstruction by Professor del Moro in 1883. Both galleries, Luca's and Donatello's, were then placed in their



PROPOSED RESTORATION OF CANTORIA BY SIGNOR CASTELLUCCI

(ARCHITECT OF THE OPERA DEL DUOMO)

(By kind permission of Signor Castellucci)



RECENTLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS OF CANTORIA

LUGA DELLA ROBRIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

(By kind permission of Signor Castellucci)

present not very satisfactory position, forming the nucleus of the Museo del Duomo.

To return to the recently discovered architectural fragments. Thanks to the kindness of Signor Castellucci I am enabled to give from his own words the facts of his discovery, as well as to publish photographs of the fragments found by him.¹

After the earthquake of 1895 the Lantern of the Baptistery had been so shaken that repairs became necessary in order to prevent the infiltration of water through the roof to the precious mosaics within, and in 1897, the restoration was begun with the removal of the marble ribs covering the eight angles of the base, in order to reduce them to their former level. These ribs were found to consist of pieces of sculptured marble taken from older buildings and monuments, and built into the Lantern *with the carving inwards*. Beneath the first was found a fragment of an epigraph bearing the date 1749, from which it is obvious that the vandalism was perpetrated at a subsequent time, though precisely at what date has not yet been ascertained.

The sides of the second rib were found to consist of two canallated pilasters with base and capital complete, which proved to be parts of the missing architecture of the Cantoria by Luca della Robbia, a fact attested by the exact similarity in design and workmanship of the moulding on either side of the pilasters, and that remaining on the base of the original reliefs, as well as by the correspondence of size (when united as in their original state), to that of the spaces between the reliefs.²

Such a discovery naturally stimulated Signor Castellucci to further search, with the result that fragments also of the cornice and lower mouldings were brought to light. The

¹ The facts are also fully stated by Dr. Marrai. *Le Cantorie di Luca della Robbia e di Donatello*. Firenze, 1900.

² A photograph taken by Signor Castellucci immediately after the discovery shows these fragments in their position on the base of the lantern undisturbed.

fragments, which are here reproduced, are now to be seen on the walls of the Museo, and may be compared with the restoration of Professor del Moro. Instead of the single broad pilaster with its squat proportions and stunted Ionic capital, designed by Professor del Moro, we have two slender pilasters with Corinthian capitals, united as in so much of the architecture of the same date and style.¹ The pattern on the fragments of cornice also is of more beautiful and delicate design, much of it bearing a strong resemblance to the Romanesque carving on the marble screen and *ambone* of S. Miniato.

Nothing is lacking but a small portion of the mouldings to make possible a perfect reconstruction of the Cantoria, according to Luca's own plan. It is to be hoped that the authorities will not long hesitate to permit this alteration. In its present state the Cantoria loses much from the stunted form of the pilasters, and the stiff and ugly design of the mouldings of the cornice. How much it would gain in beauty and delicacy from a reconstruction the appended drawing by Signor Castellucci will show. The Cantoria is one of the masterpieces, not only of Tuscan, but of the whole of *quattrocento* art, and its reconstruction would give it a place even higher than it now holds among the grandest monuments of Italy.

In studying the Cantoria, imaginary substitution of the original architecture is necessary for an appreciation of its value, for Luca, more than most artists, conceived his design as a whole, and the gain to the general composition is great, not in delicacy only, but in that continuous rhythmic quality so characteristic of his sculpture.

Its original position in the Cathedral must also be remembered, for the work is adapted, like all sculpture of the time,

¹ On Brunellesco's Portico of the Pazzi Chapel, Donatello's Pulpit, Prato, the Altar in the Portuguese Chapel, S. Miniato, &c., &c.

Professor del Moro himself had doubts as to the correctness of these Ionic pilasters. M. Reymond in his "Sculpture Florentine," 1898, written before the discovery of these fragments, suggested that the pilasters had originally been double and with Corinthian capitals.



Alinari, Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. UPPER SERIES

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE



CLAY SKETCH FOR RELIEF OF CANTORIA
LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM, LONDON

to the requirements of its height above the view of the observer as well as of its lighting. Its place over the door of the Sagrestia Nuova, above Luca's own relief of the Resurrection, was considerably higher than at present, and the light (as may be seen on the present balconies in the Cathedral) struck full upon the upper part, throwing the four lower reliefs into deep shadow, a fact which explains the somewhat coarser modelling of these, often adduced as evidence of their being earlier in execution than the rest.

The Gallery is a splendid illustration of all those imaginative and classic qualities of which we have spoken; it is a triumph of poetic conception, of composition, and scientific workmanship. Each panel, while accurately balanced with regard to its own grouping, is designed equally to take a share in the general scheme. Thus, allowing the eye to run along the entire sculpture, and substituting the two small pilasters for the one, whose breadth breaks the continuity, a well-defined and rhythmically-moving line of accent connects the whole series of the upper reliefs. It starts beneath the long trumpets in the first scene, and flickers with fine movement across the hands and arms of the maidens. The line thus accentuated is evidently intended to emphasize the musical instruments, Luca's main desire being to convey to the spectator the actual sense of sound. And this he most marvellously achieves. The loud blare of the trumpets and beat of the drums and tambourines on either side, the gentle throb of lutes and lyres in the centre, the clear voices of the maidens, are the first impressions received, and the sense of sweet sound never leaves us as long as we are before this wonderful bit of frozen music. Luca's power in conveying the very sound of instrument and voice is most striking, and we shall elsewhere have occasion to observe it.

The spontaneity and freshness of Luca's art, coupled with a classic reserve, is well illustrated in these sculptures. The life in the dancing children, in the singing youths and maidens, is unconscious and joyous, yet stately and restrained. The scenes

have the idyllic quality, and with all the life and movement, the tranquillity, of an antique sculpture.

Luca has chosen for his theme the last of the Psalms, *Laudate Domini*, the entire text of which is inscribed above and below the reliefs. For the first sculpture, *Laudate eum in sono tubæ*, we English have the good fortune to possess the original study, a grand and most important sketch which has not yet received the attention it merits, partly perhaps owing to its disadvantageous position—on a level with one's knees—in the gallery.¹

For breadth and vigour of modelling, spontaneity, and freedom of movement it is one of the finest examples of Luca's style, yet few but students are aware of its existence, and it is passed over with a cursory allusion even by the critics. I believe this is the first time it has ever been reproduced in any study of his works. Yet we may well be proud of our possession, for in some respects it has nobler sculptural qualities than the finished relief itself. It is rare even in the work of a great master to see clay handled with the breadth and freedom of this study. It is as spontaneous and direct as a sketch by Leonardo.

For an appreciation of this relief it must be remembered that the three heads of the trumpeters in the left hand corner, so entirely out of keeping in size and in style with the original, are restorations, though apparently not of recent date.

The finished marble gains of course in greater delicacy of line and modelling. The poetry of the figures is to be matched only in such Greek work as the *Mercury*, *Orpheus*, and *Eurydice* of the Naples Gallery, to which, even in the type of face and youthful figures, the relief bears a striking resemblance. It is impossible before such forms to think that Luca was ignorant of pure Greek sculpture, and had not to some extent founded his style upon it. There is certainly something of realism in the puffing of the trumpeters' cheeks, as there is a touch of

¹ South Kensington Museum, No. 7609. From the collection of the Marchese Campana, Florence. Bought in 1861.



Atmari, Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. UPPER SERIES

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE



Atinari, Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. UPPER SERIES

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE



Atinari, Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. UPPER SERIES

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE



Alinari Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. UPPER SERIES
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE



Detail from the Singing Gallery.
In the Cathedral Museum, Florence. *Lucas de Heu, Rotterdam*

Donatellesque energy in the swinging dance of the children, but the main effect is rhythmic and stately.

Exactly the same may be said of the corresponding relief in which two naked children, with exquisitely modelled bodies, dance a *tarantella* as stately as a minuet. The long flowing lines of the youths' tunics swaying with their movements over their supple limbs, accentuates the harmonious undulation and balance of the composition.

In the two centre reliefs are classically draped groups of maidens singing and playing upon the lute and harp—*Laudate eum in psalterio et cithara*. The science displayed in the movement of the mouth and throat muscles, whereby we seem actually to hear the different sounds of the voices, is as astonishing as in the more popular scenes of the choristers. These *svelte* figures, with the flowing lines of their robes, are closely connected with Ghiberti's type, but the structure of the body is larger and stronger, and they have even more in common with antique forms. What charming, poetic, and anatomically perfect little figures are the faun-like *putti* at their feet!

The two side panels of the singing choristers are perhaps the finest and most thoughtfully conceived, as they are certainly the most carefully executed, of all the series. They are now set upon the wall of the Museo, and their place filled in the restored Cantoria by plaster casts, for in its present position they would not otherwise be seen at all. This is to be regretted, because they are at much too low a level for us to be able to appreciate the effect intended by Luca, and the cavities of the open mouths are too emphasized. In their original place in the Duomo these two reliefs would be even more visible than the front series, and would catch a better light, and Luca has evidently bestowed upon them for that reason more care and thought, while their isolation from the general scheme has forced him to concentrate each scene into a self-contained and complete composition. Thus in each we find the accent

definitely focussed in the centre, and dying away on either side, without a suggestion, as in the other reliefs, of continuity. The accent is thrown upon the throats and open mouths of the singers, from which we seem again actually to hear the sound of the song. The admiration of Vasari was specially roused by the science shown in these sculptures. "*Although they are sixteen braccia from the ground,*" he writes, "*one can yet see the swelling of the singers' throats, and note the beating of the time by one boy on the shoulder of the other.*"¹ Vasari does not note the uplifted foot of this latter, which even more successfully conveys the measure of the music. It is indeed a wonderful achievement in sculpture. When we consider that fifty years before the simplest action of the limbs was but stiffly and unconvincingly suggested, this power of rendering such subtle throat movements, so as to convey the sense of vocal sound, may well surprise us.

The other great work of art in which equal stress is laid with almost equal success on musical sound, the Singing Angels, by Hubert van Eyck, in the Vydt Altar-piece, now in Berlin, was, though finished some years earlier, set in its place in the Ghent church the year after Luca received his commission for the Cantoria. It is strange to think of the two great artists, painter and sculptor, so widely separated by environment and education, occupied over the same experiments, producing, unconscious of each other, similar results. For us now it is impossible to look at one without being reminded of the other, different as is the treatment of the Florentine and Fleming.

But great as is the science and skill of such representation, the chief merit of Luca's sculpture lies after all in its poetry and charm. These fresh young figures, completely absorbed in their task and unconscious of everything else, appeal to the heart even more than to the intellect. I know of no

¹ Vasari, ii. 170.



Alinari, Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. LOWER SERIES
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. LOWER SERIES
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

other work of the Renaissance in which the charm and earnestness of youth is so fascinatingly portrayed.

The lower series of reliefs is treated with less delicacy than the upper, and they are, it must be owned, somewhat inferior in execution, though not at all in the beauty and harmony of the design. The comparative inferiority and coarseness of modelling is sufficiently explained by the fact that in their original position they were in deep shadow, a shadow intensified by the heavy projections of the brackets. That this was preconsidered and less care in detail demanded is confirmed by the documents of payment, where we find that these lower reliefs were valued at little more than half the price of the upper, although the size is the same. (Doc. ii. 13.)

But whatever may be their shortcomings in execution, we find in them the same idyllic charm and the same rhythmic movement. We may cite as one of the most classically conceived figures of the Renaissance the child who beats a tambourine to the extreme right in the third relief, which might well be copied from some antique statue of Eros. For the rest, the balance of each composition is perfect, and shadowed as they were—their present lighting is, alas! searching and merciless—by the overhanging balcony and the projecting brackets, the breadth of modelling would only have increased their effectiveness.

There is something of the vigorous energy of Donatello in the child of the last relief who rushes forward, *ventre-à-terre*, clashing cymbals, which may be looked upon as a kind of *fortissimo* climax to the musical idea running through the whole sculpture. It will be noticed that in his arrangement of the instruments Luca has no more lost sight of the orchestral effect than of the balance of composition, the loudest sounds—the trumpets, drums, and cymbals—coming from the outside reliefs, while the softer cadences of voice, harp, and lute are concentrated in the centre. The Cantoria is a marvellous

piece of sculptured music, and never has the beauty of rhythmic sound and movement been more grandly interpreted in the plastic arts.

The original price stipulated for each of the upper reliefs was sixty gold florins, and for the lower thirty-five (Doc. ii. 13), increased later to seventy for the former and a proportionate increase for the rest (Doc. ii. 14). This payment is exclusive of the Carrara marble, "*to be brought in such quantity as is desired by Luca della Robbia, magister pergami*" (Doc. ii. 4), and the payment of assistants for the more mechanical carvings. Among the numerous documents at present discovered in the archives of the Opera del Duomo, we find the name of one of these assistants—"Nanni di Miniato, detto Fora"—a name worthy of record, since he was the sculptor of the delicate cornice, a fragment of which has so fortunately been brought to light (Doc. ii. 9).

One part of the Cantoria seems irrecoverably lost. Vasari tells us that on the balustrade were placed two figures of gilded bronze also made by Luca, "*due Angeli nudi*," probably winged *putti*. These were still in existence in the time of Baldinucci, but no trace of them is now to be found. It is possible that they also were thrown carelessly by at the destruction of the Cantoria, and if the metal was not melted up, may still be hidden away in some unexplored vault of the Cathedral.¹

In 1437 Luca received the commission for another important work, the carving of the five lozenges on the north side of the Campanile, left unfinished by Andrea Pisano. The series of carvings which run round the lower story of the Tower were, according to the authority of Ghiberti, designed,

¹ Before leaving the subject of the Cantoria mention must be made of an important suggestion made by Signor Castellucci, and published by Dott. Marrai ("*Le Ricomposizione della Cantoria*," *Arte It. Dec. e Indust.*, p. 84). In the centre chapel of the Tribuna, on the north side of the High Altar in the Duomo, is a very beautiful marble altar, discovered in 1895 beneath a modern construction by the late Professor del Moro. A similar altar has recently been found



Alinari, Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. LOWER SERIES
LUCA DELLA ROBbia. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE



Alinari Florence

RELIEF OF CANTORIA. LOWER SERIES
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE,

and a few executed, by Giotto himself,¹ and the poet Antonio Pucci, living shortly after Giotto, asserts the same fact, "*I primi intagli fe*" (Giotto) "*con bello stile.*"² From the superiority in execution of the first two sculptures on the west side—The Creation of Man and of Woman—there seems little doubt that they were actually carved by Giotto himself, the fine anatomy and modelling of the nude figures standing out in marked contrast to the rather *naïve* treatment of the rest.

The series of sculptures is intended to illustrate the history of human progress, those on the north side with which we have to deal, representing the highest development of man's intellect in the Arts and Sciences. Only two, Sculpture and Painting, were completed by Andrea Pisano, the other five being left unfinished, probably because, although from the illustrative point of view the most important of the series, they were in a bad position for seeing, facing closely the wall of the Cathedral, and cast into shadow by the bridge which formerly connected the two buildings, which

by Signor Castellucci in the Chapel of the Concezione immediately opposite, but has not yet been exposed.

Both altars are of the early fifteenth century. The mouldings of the cornice are of the greatest delicacy of design and beauty of carving, and the same double pilasters with Corinthian capitals support it on either side exactly as in the original design by Luca of the Cantoria. Round the base runs a beautiful design inlaid with coloured marbles. The centre of both is filled with a bronze grating said to be by Michelozzo. Both altars Signor Castellucci claims to be executed from the design of Luca della Robbia. He even goes so far as to hint, with perhaps less show of reason, that they may have been the framework for the reliefs of S. Peter, in the Museo Nazionale, for which, owing to some change of plan, the gratings of Michelozzo were substituted. However that may be, the interesting fact remains that these two altars are of the early fifteenth century, of great beauty and delicacy of design and workmanship, and bear a striking resemblance to the architectural fragments of the Cantoria.

¹ "*Le prime storie sono nell' edificio il quale fu da lui (Giotto) edificato del Campanile di Santa Reparata, furono di sua mano scolpite e disegnate. . . . Nella mia età vidi provvedimenti di sua mano di dette istorie egregissimamente disegnati.*" Ghiberti, Commentaries. Cicognara, "*Storia della Scultura,*" iv. 210.

² Centiloquio, Canto 85. See Gardner, "*Story of Florence.*" London: Dent & Co., 1900, p. 261.

bridge had been removed as a useless encumbrance in 1431 (see p. 19).

Whether the original Giottesque design actually existed, or whether Luca imitated only the *trecento* style and angularity, would be difficult to decide, but it is certain that in the first sculpture (that to the extreme right) the *Tubal Cain*, or *Harmony*, he has followed closely the Giottesque style of the existing reliefs. At first sight the stiff, scarcely articulated figure might be by Andrea Pisano himself, and seems scarcely less *naïve* and archaic in treatment than the *Pheidias* and *Apelles* on the opposite side. But a little observation shows that this apparent *naïveté* is superficial only, and that the sculpture is in reality executed with the utmost science and skill. The figure is imposing and noble in spite of its stiffness, the expression of the face intellectual, the limbs, with all their intentional angularity, well modelled, and the draperies both broad and structural. Above all, Luca has again conveyed with marvellous skill that sense of sound so noticeable in the Cantoria. The theme is *Harmony*—Tubal Cain discovering from the clang of iron hammers on the anvil the musical harmonies, and Luca has carved him at the moment of the blow, bending his head intent to catch the vibrating sounds. The loose grasp of the hands on the hammers, the transitory action, the concentrated expression of listening, are given with consummate mastery. As before in the Cantoria we seemed to hear the sound of the voices and instruments, so here we catch ourselves listening with the figure to the hum and vibration of the smitten metals. Pose and general composition may belong to the Giottesque school, but this adaptation to his own musical interests is purely personal. The sculpture, which at first glance may appear one of Luca's least successful works, is in reality one of the most interesting and skilful, since in it he has combined the science of his own day with the archaic forms of the Giottesques.



Atinari, Florence

UNIVERSAL HARMONY

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. CAMPANILE, FLORENCE



Atinari, Florence

SCIENCE

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. CAMPANILE, FLORENCE



LYRIC SONG

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. CAMPANILE, FLORENCE



DIALECTICS

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. CAMPANILE, FLORENCE

The next in actual order and probably also in execution is the relief representing the exact sciences, *Astronomy* or *Geometry*, as it is variously named. Here Luca has broken away from the Giottesque style, either because no design existed, or because he was too true an artist to hamper himself further by imitation. In any case he has treated the remaining four reliefs in a manner entirely personal. The figures here are clad in oriental garb as befits the representatives of Science, and they have the oriental stateliness. One dictates, his well-modelled hands expressively accentuating the words which the other transcribes on a tablet. Damaged though the faces are, the gravity and earnestness of expression can still be appreciated. The scene is a fine illustration of the dignity of Truth, and seems composed as a contrast to the vehemence and bluster of the representatives of Hypothesis, the so-called *Logicians* or *Philosophers* close by.

The variety of Luca's interests is seen in his sympathetic interpretation of different intellectual moods. After the solemnity suitable to such cosmic subjects as universal Harmony and Science, he composes one of the most romantic and poetic scenes in *quattrocento* Art. The theme is *Lyric Song*, and its representative, Orpheus, is seated in a thick grove from whose deep shadows birds and beasts peep out enchantedly listening. Luca's mood is relaxed as we have not yet seen it. It is the freest, most spontaneous of his works, and the figure in its abandonment to the passion of song has less of the classic reserve than is usual with him. It is Sordello, the mediæval Troubadour, rather than the Greek Orpheus. Again this Sculptor of Sound makes us aware of the thrill of the voice and vibration of the lute-strings as they are plucked. The face has been unfortunately much damaged, nose and upper lip being so broken as partially to destroy its beauty, but the poetry and charm of the scene have not been lost.

In the next sculpture, called variously the *Logicians*, *Dialecticians*, *Philosophers*, or *Plato and Aristotle*, we find Luca

under the full sway of Donatello, depicting gesture and emotion with as vigorous an energy and as little reserve. The figures seem representative of Dialectics rather than Philosophy, but in either case they are intended to offer contrast to the tranquillity of the two scientists. They seem to vibrate with the excitement of dispute. The action is most natural. One has but this moment flung his mantle over his shoulder that his hands may be freer for gesticulation, and the folds still whirl with the wind caught by them as they were swung backwards. The keen intelligence of the faces, the vehemence of gesture, are rendered with vivid realism. It is useful to have the proof afforded by this sculpture that the tranquillity of Luca's usual manner is due to no lack of power in portraying emotion.

Grudging as it may seem to point out any defect in a work of so much science and beauty, it must be noticed that here (for the first and only time that has come under my observation), Luca is guilty of an error in draughtsmanship. The advanced leg of the bearded figure, proved by the foot to be the left, cannot be connected under the draperies with the thigh to which it ought to belong, but seems actually to be attached to the right leg, giving a very awkward effect. The fault is a curious lapse from Luca's usual scientific accuracy in dealing with form, and his attention to the limbs beneath the draperies.

Last of the series is the so-called *Grammar*, one of the most beautiful of Luca's sculptures, combining all the technical excellences of his work with his peculiar qualities of dignity and sweetness. The stately figure of Donatus chosen as the representative Grammarian, the intellectual strength and mildness of his face, seem an embodiment of Luca's own personal characteristics, just such a blending of mental ability, of stateliness and humanity as we attribute to himself. The boy who sits taking notes of the discourse with his tablet on his knee, recalls the charming figures of the Choristers of the Cantoria,



Atinari, Florence

GRAMMAR

LUCA DELLA ROBbia. CAMPANILE, FLORENCE

with his fresh youth and childish earnestness. The sculpture has as much technical merit as poetic beauty. Nowhere has Luca better indicated the solidity of body and limb than here under the robes of Donatus and the child's tunic; nowhere has he modelled faces and hands with more science and subtlety. The filling of the somewhat awkward hexagonal space is a lesson in composition, and the treatment of the relief, here as in the *Orpheus*, is admirable in its suggestion of depth, without in the least effacing the solidity of background or violating the laws of sculpture by too great realism.

I have dwelt at special length upon the beauty of these reliefs because, partly owing to discoloration and the breakages they have received, partly to their half-hidden position on the Tower, they are not, except by students, appreciated as their great excellence deserves. They are indeed, for the wide range of power they display, for their poetry and technical merit, among the best of Luca's works, less classic than the Cantoria, less severe than the Bronze Doors, but more purely personal and spontaneous than either.

The five sculptures were finished in 1439 (old reckoning 1438), about two years after the date of commission, and for each Luca received the sum of twenty gold florins. (Doc. iv.)

The next commission given to Luca by the authorities of S. Maria del Fiore followed close upon the completion of the Campanile Reliefs. In 1439 (20th April) he received the order to design and carve in marble an altar for the Chapel of S. Peter, in the Tribuna, and to execute another from wax models furnished by Donatello, for the Chapel of S. Paul (Doc. v.). The project seems to have fallen through for some reason unknown. Of the Altar of S. Paul we hear nothing beyond the one reference, but of Luca's work for the Chapel of S. Peter, two unfinished reliefs exist, now in the Museo Nazionale (Nos. 201 and 219). These sculptures have much in common with the Campanile Reliefs. They are, the Crucifixion especially, little more than sketches roughly blocked out

in the marble, but with a vigour and breadth of treatment worthy of Michelangelo. The scenes illustrate the Liberation of S. Peter from Prison and his Martyrdom. The greater finish of the Liberation of S. Peter points to its having been executed first. It shows again, in the vehemence of the principal figures and in the treatment of the relief, the influence of Donatello. The placing of a window in the background, beyond which figures are seen in the open air, is a favourite method with Donatello of obtaining depth of space, and he is specially successful in creating this depth while keeping the relief rigidly low, more successful than Luca has here shown himself to be.

The Crucifixion is in every respect a finer and more characteristic work. Luca has succeeded in giving a monumental dignity to the painful scene. There is no attempt at realism. The body is merely an upright figure reversed, any suggestion of strain to the limbs or of hanging being carefully avoided. The executioners are as gentle and childlike as the boy writing on his tablet in the *Grammar* of the Campanile, whom one of them resembles so strongly as to suggest the employment of the same model. Their action as they swing their hammers is free and supple but without vehemence. They might be lads in a *bottega* hewing out a figure of marble. The only touch of realism is in the fierce bearded head, roughly blocked out on the background with an energy suggestive of Michelangelo. In his poetic conception of a painful theme Luca again shows his classic instinct. He recognises that the portrayal of torture and suffering does not lie within the province of art, and his reversed Martyr has the serenity of an enthroned Zeus. The skill with which the figures are grouped, the avoidance of dry precision in the composition, inevitable had the crucified figure been in the centre, and the accurate balance obtained by the high relief of the soldiers, is a remarkable feat even for so fine a composer as Luca.



Atinari, Florence

LIBERATION OF S. PETER

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE



Atinari, Florence

CRUCIFIXION OF S. PETER

LUCA DELLA ROBBI. MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE

To the Baron von Rumohr belongs the credit of having first discovered Luca's hand in these hitherto neglected sculptures,¹ the documents which confirmed his judgment not being found till several years after the publication of his opinion. After lying for centuries unheeded in the store-room of the Opera del Duomo, together with the Reliefs of the Cantoria, they were at last removed with them to the corridor of the Uffizi, and subsequently to the Museo Nazionale, where they still remain.

These sculptures in marble, the Cantoria, the Campanile Reliefs, and the Reliefs of the Altar of S. Peter, are perhaps the *fine fleur* of Luca's achievements. They reveal him in various moods, classic, energetic, romantic, reserved—but however different the mood, always stately and strong. The Bronze Doors have perhaps more concentration of energy, more positive force, but they have also less of the spontaneity and poetry of these earlier works. Unfortunately they are the last of the marble sculptures pure and simple, unspoiled (as it appears to me) by the introduction of enamelled ornament.

¹ Rumohr, *Forschungen*, ii. 290.

CHAPTER IV

ENAMELLED TERRA-COTTA—THE PERETOLA TABERNACLE—THE DUOMO RELIEFS—THE PAZZI CHAPEL

VASARI credits Luca della Robbia with the invention of the enamel called by his name, yet it is a well-known fact that the process of glazing terra-cotta had never fallen into disuse, and that he only adapted to sculpture an art which had hitherto in Italy been confined to vases, plates, and other household utensils. We, who have before our eyes the splendid enamel frieze of the Palace of Susa, know the antiquity of its use in architectural decoration, and to what perfection the art of enamelling had attained in ancient days, but to Luca belongs at least the credit of having first applied it to sculpture in independent monumental form.

The history of the process is uncertain, but (to give the briefest sketch) it would seem that the Persians taught it to the Arabs, who in their turn imparted it to the Europeans through the two channels of Spain and Sicily. At the beginning of the eighth century, after the conquest of Spain, the Arabs brought with them their own special arts and crafts, and the glazing of pottery among them. The work gained all the easier footing with the Spaniards, because they had never entirely lost the traditions of ceramic art brought into the country by the Romans. It was in all probability in Spain, through the impulse given by the Arabian conquerors, that the fabrication of true *faïence* had its birth. No proof exists which accurately determines the epoch when pottery factories were first established in Spain, but it seems certain that the town of Malaga was already in the fourteenth century

the centre of an industry so famous and important as to warrant the supposition that it was founded at a much earlier date. After this we hear of manufactories established in the Balearic Isles, and above all in Majorca, which had with the Levant, and all the Mediterranean coast, so considerable a trade as to give its name to the glazed pottery known as Majolica. By the close of the fourteenth century the most important potteries in Europe were established in Italy.¹

The earliest majolica ware produced in Italy seems to date from the fourteenth century. In his *Margarita Preciosa*, composed at Pola in Istria in 1330, one Pietro del Bono gives the recipe for the composition of majolica glaze.² A certain Giovanni de' Bistuggi of Castel Durante (afterwards so famous for its glazed pottery), who lived in 1360, was a famous painter of majolica.³ The chief towns in which it was manufactured were Forli, Faenza, Rimini, Caffagiola, Pesaro, Urbino, Castel Durante, Gubbio, Perugia, and Siena.

It is outside the purpose of this study to attempt more than a slight sketch of the craft of glazing terra-cotta, but the following rough outline of the process, as adopted in the modern manufactories, may be of interest.⁴

After the clay model has been baked in a gyrating furnace, according to the usual methods of terra-cotta, it is immersed in a bath of enamel, composed of oxidised tin, lead, and a very fine sand.⁵ The model emerges from the bath evenly

¹ See Garnier, *Dict. de la Céramique*.

² See Piot, *Études sur la Céramique*, 1861, pp. 1-10.

³ Raffaelli, *Mem. istoriche delle Majoliche lavorate in Castel Durante*, 1846, p. 8.

⁴ I am indebted for these notes to the kindness of the Manager of the Ginori Fabbrica, who allowed me to witness the entire process of glazing and baking of the imitations of Robbia ware so successfully produced in the establishment at La Doccia.

⁵ The gyrating furnace turns slowly towards a climax of heat fixed at a point exactly opposite the mouth, and the object to be baked is thus submitted to a gradually intensified heat, and an equally gradual cooling, as it slowly recedes towards the mouth of the furnace. The white glaze is composed of thirty parts of *marzacotto* to twelve of oxide of tin. *Marzacotto* is made of powdered glass, a pure silicate of potash made from fine sand and the alkaline tartar deposited by wine.

covered with a coating of white glaze, thick enough to considerably coarsen the surface of the model, but which refines again after the firing. Such parts as are to remain white are now ready for baking, but from those which are to be coloured, such as the blue background, leaves, fruits, &c., the white glaze is carefully wiped away. The coloured glazes are then applied with a brush, no further dipping being possible, and the work is again baked in a furnace of immense heat, protected by a matrix of brick.

In the *faïence* process—painting in detail upon a flat surface of enamel—a method adopted later by Giovanni and the *atelier*, the picture or pattern is either painted upon the white glaze directly after the bath, or when it has been subjected to a slight baking. In the first process the difficulties are greater, for the glaze being granular and absorbent, the touch of the brush must be rapid and decisive, and no correction is possible. The richness of colour in this process is of course far greater, as the enamel absorbs the pigment and incorporates it with itself. This is the true *faïence*, and all the earlier works were so painted. In the second process, generally adopted in modern pottery by reason of the facility of manipulation, the subject is painted upon the glaze after it has been hardened by a slight baking, and being therefore superficial, lacks richness and depth of colour.

To return to the simple colouring process used by Luca. It will be seen that the art is an exceedingly delicate one, and requires much foresight and prejudgment of the ultimate effect to be obtained, for the original model undergoes no less than three modifying processes; first, the baking of the raw clay by which it is considerably contracted, next the coarsening of surface by the application of the enamel, and lastly the refining process of the subsequent firing. Yet another difficulty hampers the artist, for it is impossible to judge before firing the exact shade of the colours, since in order to give them body, they have to be so mixed with



Altinari, Firenze

TABERNACLE

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. COLLEGIATA, PERETOLA

a white *smalto*, that in their raw state they have all an equally thick and dirty appearance; the most brilliant green, for example, appearing as originally applied a dull leaden grey.

In all the authentic work of Luca the purity of the enamel, its even surface and creamy colour, are most noticeable. If we took no other guide but the difference of the glazes, in distinguishing his works from those of Giovanni and the school, we should not go far astray. It is evident that the effect he desired to obtain was that of old polished marble or ivory. This beauty of surface has given rise to the legend that the composition of the glaze was a secret which died with the last of the race, jealously guarded by the family and only leaking out by illicit means. There is even a tradition, still firmly believed in Tuscan villages, that before his death Luca wrote out this secret upon a piece of parchment and hid it in the head of one of his figures, a legend which one hears is responsible for many breakages made in the hope of recovering the writing. The falseness of such stories is sufficiently attested by the fact that the Robbias received into their *bottega* apprentices outside their own family.¹ Moreover, long before the end of the century the glazes had already become so coarse, that if we accept the theory of a secret at all, we shall have to believe that Luca kept it entirely to himself and Andrea, and refused to impart it to Andrea's sons.

The fact is that the secret of Luca's beautiful and delicate glazes lay in his "infinite capacity for taking pains," his personal superintendence and care over the whole process in all its details. To the contrast between the enamel in Luca's

¹ Santi Buglioni entered the Robbia *bottega* in 1521, and was Giovanni's assistant in the decoration of the Spedale del Ceppo (Vasari, vi. 88, *note*, and Part III. of this book, p. 251). Before him Benedetto Buglioni, his master, had executed works in glazed terra-cotta, closely following Andrea's style, and in all probability done under his direction (Part III., p. 251). It is besides impossible that the immense number of works produced by the *atelier* during the first quarter of the sixteenth century could have been all executed by the sons of Andrea without other assistance.

genuine work and that of the school I have already drawn attention in the prefatory sketch, to the purity, even application and beauty of colour in the one, the gritty surface and careless manipulation in the other. Especially beautiful is the soft creamy white of Luca's figures, the even, opaque, yet luminous blue of his backgrounds, and the transitions of bluish-greens in his foliage. The very fitting together of the sections is done with such care that they are scarcely visible. Every process, it is evident, has been superintended at least by the master's own eye, with a care as necessary to the success of the work as the modelling of the clay itself.

Andrea, trained by Luca in his careful methods, produced occasionally a glaze of almost equal beauty, for example in the "Madonna of the Architects," and the Altarpieces of La Verna. But such instances are rare, and the glaze became with every succeeding year poorer and coarser. The rough preparation of the enamels left them full of extraneous matter, particles of dust, hair, &c.; they were so coarsely ground that the surface is marred with tiny lumps and bubbles; the model was so carelessly dipped that often parts escaped the glaze altogether, while the colours which had to be applied with a brush were either streaked like a badly-washed wall, or dashed on so carelessly that they ran into the other pigments. The sections, again, were pieced together in the roughest manner, and with no thought of hiding the joins, which at times cut through important parts even of the figures, adding to the patchy incoherence of the scenes. This carelessness grew gradually but surely, as the popularity of the art, and consequent pressure of work, increased, and after the close of the century there is hardly a piece of fine enamel to be found. The four Medallions added by the Ginori Fabbrica in recent years to the Loggia of the Innocenti Hospital, are as well glazed as any work produced by the Robbias after the Pistoja Tympanum. The lost secret of Luca's beautiful ivory surface and colour might be rediscovered without the breaking of his

Madonna's heads, if some sculptor of genius again chose to make use of this material and himself to grind, mix, and carefully apply the enamels.

The first example of Luca's glazed work of whose date we have documentary record is the decoration of the marble Tabernacle, now in the Collegiata of Peretola, which was commissioned by the authorities of S. Maria Nuova in 1441, and was constructed to contain the Holy Sacrament in their Chapel of S. Luke (Doc. vi.).¹ The *stemma* of the Hospital—the Crutch—is introduced in the base of the Tabernacle and in the angles of the Lunette. The general design, the architectural part especially, is severely classic and of fine proportion, but in detail the work cannot be considered one of his most successful sculptures. The two Angels who support the Medallion are statuesque and stately, although too heavy in build for their height, but the Pietà in the Lunette is obtrusive, the treatment of the subject cold, and the sentiment forced. Luca is never at his best in such scenes, and his evident effort at representing the emotion of grief has not here resulted well. In the conventionally treated bust of God the Father above, he is hardly to be recognised, so stiff and mechanical is the figure. The introduction of the brightly coloured enamels, however beautiful in themselves, is in my opinion an artistic mistake, for it destroys not only the dignity of the marble, but the unity of the composition.

It may seem strange in a book devoted to the study of Luca della Robbia, a name used as a generic term for all work in glazed terra-cotta, to speak in depreciating terms of the art with which his name is so indissolubly connected, yet it is impossible not to feel that in the introduction of coloured enamels as borders and ornaments to marble sculpture, much of the grandeur, breadth, and significance that belong to

¹ The first of the three existing documents relating to this Tabernacle has the additional interest that it contains the name of Luca's assistant in the work "*Ant. (Antonio) di Cristofano, ch'è al lavoro collui*" (Doc. vi. 1).

marble is lost. Sculpture should *seem* always hewn out of the block. The Egyptians, truest of all artists, did actually hew out of the living rock; the Sculptor (or Sculptors) of the Olympian Pediment obtains by broad and massive treatment a like effect; Michelangelo transports the rock to the Altar, and hews out of it the suggestion of a figure, placing as much value on the rugged casing as on the imitation of the human form itself. Beautiful as is the art originated by Luca, completely satisfactory in conveying the slighter conceptions of Andrea, one must needs feel before the classic grandeur of his own sculptures coated with the variable glaze, a regret that they were not carved in marble—marble which responds so nobly to the thought and touch of the artist.

The manner in which the enamel is introduced in this Peretola Tabernacle is curious, and unique among Luca's works. In the lower border it has been inserted almost like *cloisonné*, the blue-glazed rosettes being enclosed in a marble moulding, and the interstices filled with a pattern of green fern-leaves on a black ground. The background of the Pietà, itself sculptured in marble, is also filled in with blue enamel, as are likewise the angles above, in the centre of each of which the *stemma* of the Hospital is carved in marble. The somewhat trivial decoration of blue and purple cherubs' heads and garlands below the Tympanum are laid upon the marble background. Thus the enamelled work forms no integral part of the monument, which would be equally complete without it. The combination of these small patches of disconnected brilliant colour with the severity of the marble sculpture is not good, and the effect, merely as decoration, is insignificant. But in spite of all, the Tabernacle is the work of Luca—that is to say, of one of the greatest sculptors of the Renaissance—and it is in comparison only with his own high standard that such criticisms have weight. Notwithstanding the coloured borders and disconnected decoration, Luca has managed to maintain massiveness and coherence in the whole effect.



Alinari, Florence

RESURRECTION

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. DUOMO, FLORENCE



ASCENSION

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE

Alinari, Firenze

The door of the Tabernacle is of gilded bronze, and on it is represented the full-length figure of Christ as the Man of Sorrows. This is traditionally ascribed to Ghiberti, but has more of the *rozzezza* of Michelozzo's work. The dove in the Medallion is also of bronze.

Why the authorities of the Hospital should have banished so fine a sculpture to their small dependency of Peretola is a mystery. Even the date of its removal is not certainly known, but it is most probable that it was during the restoration of the chapel in the eighteenth century, when the severe style of Luca was but little appreciated.

Two years after the commission for this Tabernacle (1443) Luca was employed by the authorities of S. Maria del Fiore to execute a work in enamelled terra-cotta for the Duomo. This was the Resurrection, to fill the tympanum of the door of the Sagrestia Nuova beneath his own Cantoria. As the Cantoria is his finest work in marble, so is the noble relief undoubtedly his finest in glazed terra-cotta. It is impossible to overrate the learning and skill displayed in the group of sleeping soldiers in the foreground. For the fine foreshortening of the figures, the rendering of muscular relaxation in sleep, he has here challenged the most scientific of his contemporaries, and not Donatello himself has modelled a form nobler or more full of individual character than the magnificent knight stretched out at the feet of the risen Christ. It is strange to turn from this figure, so modern in its freedom of action and truth to nature, to the almost *trecento* group of angels above, and the shrubs, hardly changed from the conventional treatment of the artists of the silver altar. The Christ also is somewhat stiff and conventional, and the height is too insignificant, detracting from the noble beauty of the face itself. It is a face to be impressed on the memory as exceedingly characteristic of Luca, and we shall meet with it again and again, notably among the Apostles of the Pazzi Chapel and in the Impruneta Altars.

The Ascension, which occupies the corresponding place over the door of the Sagrestia Vecchia, was commissioned three years later, in 1446 (Doc. vii.). There are suggestions of Ghiberti's influence in the curved body of the Christ, and the long sweep of the draperies around it. The figure is again somewhat stunted, a defect due, both here and in the Resurrection, to the exigencies of space, but to be regretted since the principal figures thereby lose dignity and significance. What is of most merit in this relief is the fine realisation of the bodies of the kneeling saints under the toga-like draperies, which show every muscle and movement of the well-modelled limbs. In both this and the Resurrection the purity and creamy colour of the enamels is of special beauty, and gives to the reliefs the appearance of old polished marble.

Even did no evidence exist which enables us to place the decorations of the Pazzi Chapel, S. Croce, about this same period, we should be forced by the close similarity of style to associate them with these two reliefs of S. Maria del Fiore. Thanks, however, to Von Fabriczy's researches *re* Brunellesco, we are able accurately to date the commencement of the building of the chapel, and in consequence, with more or less certainty, the decorations.¹ It was formerly supposed that the chapel was begun by Brunellesco in 1420, but documents discovered and published in 1892 reveal that the building dates only from 1429-1430, and was completed (presumably without the decorations) in 1443. This date accords exactly with the style of Luca's reliefs, which may be placed roughly between the years 1440 and 1450.

For the first time we see Luca the sculptor working in close collaboration with the architect, for the decorations form an integral part of the building, not only in the Atrium, where

¹ See Cornel von Fabriczy, "Filippo Brunelleschi," Stuttgart, 1892. Brunellesco began the building of the chapel 1429-1430, as is proved by his Portata to the Catasto of 1433 (p. 215 of the above work). At the beginning of 1443 the building was completed (p. 617).

the small cupola is entirely encrusted with enamelled ornaments, but within the chapel itself, where the Medallions are rather a part of the architectural design than independent sculptures. In this Luca certainly anticipated the late work of Giovanni in the Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoja, but where the reliefs of Giovanni, voluntarily or involuntarily, are subordinate to the building, in the Pazzi Chapel the building seems but a splendid setting or framework for Luca's medallions.

As we enter the cloister and walk slowly towards the entrance of the chapel, the beautiful decoration of the little dome reveals itself gradually, like the unfolding of some exquisite flower, the pure brilliant colours gaining full value by contrast with the grey of the *pietra serena*. This is our first introduction to Luca's decorative work, and its originality is most striking. In the centre of the graduated shells which compose the design is set the *stemma* of the Pazzi family, the dolphins and crosses, and surrounding it one of those garlands of fruits and flowers in which Luca shows himself so great a master of decoration. Attention will be drawn later, in studying the medallions of Or San Michele and the grand *stemma* of René d'Anjou, to his treatment of these garlands, which differs so widely from the florid and obtrusive imitations of Giovanni and the school; to his artistic arrangement of the leaves and fruits, half-realistic half-conventional, whereby they seem actually to flow around the enclosed relief. This wreath is one of the most beautiful of all, but it is difficult to appreciate beauty with a strained neck, and we shall have better opportunity for studying them in the more isolated medallions, which are not, as here, merely the centre of an elaborate scheme of decoration.

The architecture and general decoration of this little Atrium are most exquisite. The frieze of cherubs' heads beneath the architrave, generally attributed to Desiderio, and worthy almost of Donatello himself; the deep glowing colours of Luca's dome, and his fine Medallion above the

door, are a fitting introduction to the chapel, perhaps the most perfect bit of Renaissance architecture in existence. The Medallion represents S. Andrea, patron Saint of the Pazzi family, and is the first of the series of Apostles executed by Luca for the chapel, thirteen in all (for this saint is again represented in the interior). Of all the figures it is the grandest and most classic, the severe head and broadly draped massive torso recalling some antique statue of Zeus, a suggestion accentuated by the absence of any halo. He is seated majestically upon a cloud, with his bare feet also resting upon clouds, ivory-white against a background circled in graduated blues like the ripples in a pool of water.

In this figure, as indeed in this whole series, we are specially struck by the extreme beauty of the hands and feet, an invariable characteristic of Luca's work, but which is nowhere so noticeable as here. The type of hand chosen by Luca is that of an artist, of a musician, a splendid combination of strength and delicacy, broad in the palm, with long tapering fingers supple and sinewy. This beautiful representation of the hand—the most perfectly-shaped in *quattrocento* art—he taught also to Andrea, and it became almost a tradition of the whole school, the hands often retaining beauty of form and a certain amount of good modelling, when all else has grown coarse and careless. The feet of Luca match the hands, slender and delicate, with long supple toes and well-shaped nails, modelled with the utmost care.

Entering the chapel the decorative effect of the enamels upon the severe whitewashed walls is very fine. Beneath the small ribbed dome are four large Medallions, glowing with rich colours, clear grass green and pale blue predominating, on which are represented the four Evangelists with their emblems. Below, around the walls, runs a frieze of lambs and cherubs in painted stucco, and beneath these, accentuating the graceful lines of the architecture, which in its turn seems designed only to give them fitting frame, are twelve smaller



Brogi, Florence

S. ANDREW

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. ATRIUM OF PAZZI CHAPEL.



Alinari, Florence

S. MARK

BRUNELLESKO (?). PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

S. MATTHEW

BRUNELLESKO (?). PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Altare, Firenze

S. LUKE

BRUNELLESICO (?), PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Altare, Firenze

S. JOHN

BRUNELLESICO (?), PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE

Medallions with the figures of the Apostles, enamelled in creamy white against a blue slightly concave background.

No contrast could be greater than the work in the four coloured Medallions round the Cupola and the twelve smaller reliefs below, than the stately tranquil Apostles so characteristic in every way of Luca, and the sombre dramatic figures of the Evangelists. Equally majestic, equally fine in modelling, it is nevertheless impossible to attribute the Medallions to the same hand.

Here we are confronted with one of the most baffling riddles that the study of Renaissance Art affords. These heavy blacks and browns and vivid greens, this realistic colouring of the hair, are completely unlike any known work of Luca, completely opposed to his style and methods. Where else do we find this large-featured *Hebrew* type of face, sombre and mysterious, these heavy masses of hair and beard, this tragic intense expression? Among the Apostles in the smaller Medallions, two of these same Evangelists are represented, S. Matthew and S. John. A glance from one to the other is enough to prove the impossibility that the same brain conceived and the same hand executed figures so utterly dissimilar in type, in feeling, and in external form.

No other works of art have caused more discussion than these Evangelists of the Pazzi Chapel, every critic trying to explain the riddle, none seeming quite convinced by his own arguments. Here we have figures of a grandeur and technical excellence fully equal to any work by Luca himself, glazed with a process at that time presumably known only to him, yet offering the most violent contrast in every respect to his style and treatment. The sculptures are exceedingly noble, and bear the impress of an intellect of the first order; for concentration and energy they compare favourably even with the Apostles below. The hands and feet are splendidly modelled, the draperies composed with fine simplicity, the limbs beneath solid and well-defined. The space-filling is admirable;

the colouring, bold and strong, is most effective, especially in S. Matthew and S. Mark, where white and vividest grass-green stand out brilliantly against a background of pale blue. The figures might stand for Jeremiah or Job, or any of the soul-tortured prophets of the Hebrew dispensation. Intensity of thought, absorption and tragic grandeur have seldom been more powerfully portrayed. We have evidently to seek the sculptor of the Pazzi Evangelists in the first rank of artists.

Vasari throws no light to help us, for he speaks of the entire decorations of the chapel as being by Luca himself. M. Reymond, arguing from his theory of a development of polychromatic colour, considers them to be a late work of Luca, and explains their dramatic energy by another theory, that in old age he abandoned the classic tranquillity of his earlier days. If this be so, why do no other works of a late date show a similar energy? Why should these four Medallions, which are even more integrally a part of the architecture, be executed long after the rest? Is it not besides psychologically improbable that a man in old age should grow more concentrated, more energetic than in maturity? Herr von Liphardt has suggested a theory to my mind of far more value, and in fact the only favourable explanation of the mystery. He considers these Evangelists to be the work of no less an artist than Brunellesco himself, the architect of the chapel.¹ By a process of elimination, if through no other evidence, we might arrive at some such conclusion. Who else among the Florentine sculptors, except Donatello, was capable of executing work so intellectual and so grand? But the reliefs show none of Donatello's characteristics. We have too few sculptures by Brunellesco to find analogy absolutely convincing, yet it cannot be denied that these Evangelists bear a strong resemblance, both in form and feeling, to the Crucified Christ of S. Maria

¹ In this theory Burckhardt agrees. Dr. Bode also at one time accepted it, but has later changed his opinion, considering them as *youthful* work by Luca himself.



Alinari, Florence

CRUCIFIX

BRUNELLESCHI. S. MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE



Atinari, Florence

S. BARTHOLOMEW

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Atinari, Florence

S. MATTHIAS

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

S. ANDREW

LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

S. JAMES THE LESS

LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE

Novella. A glance from one to the other will confirm this. There we find the same large-featured Hebrew type of face, the same massive locks of hair, the same energy of treatment, above all, the same sombre intensity of expression. It is not unlikely that the architect, who was also a sculptor, should himself have executed some of the decorations which were so essential a part of his design. If this be so, though doubtless he himself chose the colours of the enamels, as their difference to those of Luca bears evidence, the actual application and firing would have been in all probability executed by or under the superintendence of Luca himself.¹

No such enigma offers itself as to the authorship of the Apostles. Unequal though they are (for some are much finer than others), one and all show the characteristics of Luca's work, and need only be compared with the Ascension and Resurrection of the Cathedral to prove them his. It has indeed been suggested that the inferiority of a few of the figures is due to the participation of Andrea, but if our dating of the work be correct—*i.e.* between 1440 and 1450—Andrea would have been a mere child at the time. These sculptures besides, with all their inequality, have consistency and unity of thought, and are undoubtedly productions of the same mind and the same hand. It is rare for a work of such magnitude to maintain the same high level of excellence, and to model thirteen figures with little or no variation possible beyond that of expression, must prove wearisome to the most enthusiastic and conscientious artist.

To take the Medallions in their order, beginning on the north side of the chapel, we have first S. Matthias, with melancholy intellectual face, resting his cheek on his hand, absorbed in thought. In type and construction, and in treat-

¹ In the Church of S. Giobbe, Venice, on the roof of the second chapel left of entrance, these Evangelists are imitated with variations. From the style of the work and of the garlands which surround them, they seem to be late work of the *atelier*.

ment of hair and beard, this head has much in common with the Christ of the Resurrection. Next comes S. Bartholomew, one of the least satisfactory of the reliefs, the upper part of the figure being too heavy for the lower, and the draperies arranged less structurally than is usual with Luca. The head, however, is very noble. It is obviously imitated from the seated statue of S. John the Evangelist by Donatello, which formerly decorated the façade of the Duomo, and is now so unfortunately hidden away in its dark Chapel of the Tribuna, a statue which also influenced Michelangelo in his Moses of S. Pietro in Vincoli.

The disproportion between torso and legs in this Medallion of S. Bartholomew, also perceptible in several of the others, is, it must be remembered, difficult to avoid in seated figures in relief, for if the thighs and knees projected as they would in nature, the accent would fall unduly upon the legs to the detriment of the more important parts. The relief must therefore be adapted and conventionalised by foreshortening and reducing of the natural proportions.

On the east wall, left of the altar, is one of the noblest of the figures, S. Matthew, earnest in expression and stately in bearing, with classic head bent intently over his Gospel. The Angel who holds the inkpot exactly resembles those in the Resurrection. Next follows S. Peter, whose shaggy head we have seen before among the Apostles of the Ascension. This figure was accepted as type and pattern by Luca's successors in their representations of the saint. Andrea copied it almost precisely in his Madonna of Mercy, in S. Maria in Grado, Arezzo, and Giovanni again in his Altarpiece, the Madonna and Saints in the Seminario, Fiesole, and among the Apostles of the Certosa Cloister. It is interesting to see the same type treated by the three different artists.

On the right of the altar are two of the finest reliefs, S. John the Evangelist, strong and concentrated, and S. James the Great with pilgrim's staff and cockleshell, a magnificent



Aimari, Florence

S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Aimari, Florence

S. JAMES THE GREAT

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Altare, Firenze

S. MATTHEW
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Altare, Firenze

S. PETER
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

S. SIMON

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

S. PAUL

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Alinari, Firenze

S. THOMAS
LUCA DELLA ROBbia. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE



Alinari, Firenze

S. PHILIP
LUCA DELLA ROBbia. PAZZI CHAPEL, FLORENCE

figure, in every respect the best of the series, which ranks for force and grandeur with Luca's noblest works in marble and bronze.

On the south wall are S. Andrea, much inferior to the same saint over the entrance of the chapel, and S. James the Less, ranking next in excellence to the other S. James just noticed. On the west side (the window-wall, and therefore the worst lighted) we have SS. Simon, Paul, Thomas, and Philip, neither, with the exception of S. Thomas, equal to the rest. This figure, however, in its fresh boyish beauty recalls the Choristers of the Cantoria, and just such another graceful curving line as in the scroll of music they hold Luca has repeated here.

The figures stand out against their concave backgrounds in high relief, the heads being almost free, and casting heavy shadows. No other colours but white and blue are used, but from each figure radiate lines of gold applied over the glaze. The enamel is of most delicate surface, and of so rich and creamy a colour that they have almost the appearance of being carved out of ivory. With the exception of some slight breakages, much to be regretted when they occur on the faces, the Medallions are in a state of perfect preservation, and gleam out as brilliantly from the white walls as the day they were fired, fitting decorations to this gem of Renaissance architecture.

CHAPTER V

THE BRONZE DOORS

FOLLOWING the chronology of Luca's dated works, we must now leave for a while the enamelled terra-cottas, and consider the Bronze Doors of the Cathedral Sacristy, which share the honours with the Cantoria and Campanile Reliefs as the grandest of his sculptures. These were the fourth gates of bronze dedicated to the patron saints of Florence, S. Giovanni and S. Maria del Fiore, and each of the four was to a certain extent the artistic offspring of its predecessor. Chiefly in externals however, for in aim each is independent of the other, each is epoch-marking in the development of Florentine art. They illustrate the tendencies and interests of each succeeding generation representative of the growth and progress of Renaissance sculpture. Andrea Pisano's (commissioned January 9, 1330, finished 1336) show the same suggestion of coming realism, effort at perspective and pictorial treatment which is to be seen in the Reliefs of the silver altar executed thirty years later. Ghiberti in his first gates of the Baptistery (commissioned 1403, set up 1424), while precisely following the general design and much of the detail of Andrea Pisano's, which were his model, allows himself entire freedom in his treatment of the figures, and certain innovations of ornament. He replaces the mechanically repeated lions' heads, Andrea's chief decoration, with varied human heads projecting from the traditional quatrefoil; the severe nails and studs ornamenting Andrea's framework he exchanges for garlands of flowers and fruits, imitated from nature without the least trace of conventionality. Following close upon these, the so-called



Atinari, Florence

BRONZE DOORS

LUCA DELLA ROBbia. DUOMO, FLORENCE

Gates of Paradise mark an entirely new departure in sculpture, not altogether unsuggested in the former, but rapid and decisive. These gates (commissioned 1425, completed 1447, gilded and set up 1452) have little in common with their predecessors but the framework of realistically treated leaves and fruits and the projecting heads, yet they are in a way the logical result which was bound to follow sooner or later. They represent the climax, the *ne plus ultra*, of the scientific spirit in Florentine art. They insist on the sculptor's freedom from every restriction, even those naturally imposed by the material and the object of the work. They are a series of elaborate pictures set in a gorgeous frame, with marvellous rendering of depth of space, of distant landscape, of architectural perspective, of life, movement and action in crowded scenes; of all, in fact, which lies within the province of pictorial art and outside that of sculpture. They illustrate the triumph over all the chief difficulties of representation in the plastic arts, and the absolute liberty of the artist; but as doors they are about as unsuitable as could well be imagined, as sculpture they outrage every law and æsthetic restriction. Doors, a means of defence first of all, should impress first by their strength and massiveness, by their solidity and sense of resistance. Doors of metal in especial should preserve in appearance their actual impenetrability. Ghiberti's gates, though actually impenetrable, are to the outward view as light and transparent as a series of windows through which the eye passes to a far-off landscape. Luca, with his inborn classic taste, perceived the error into which Ghiberti had fallen, and chose to adhere to the severe simplicity of the earlier gates of Andrea Pisano. The design of his doors is in fact so rigid as to suggest a reaction against the pictorial and florid treatment of metal in his day, a treatment countenanced, even encouraged, by so great an artist as Donatello. Although Ghiberti's gates were not completed at the time of Luca's commencement of his, yet there is no doubt that the models must have been constantly under the eyes of Florentine artists

during the progress of the work. In any case the contrast could not well be greater between the two designs. Ghiberti's, crowded with figures receding into limitless distance, the foremost being almost free statuettes; lavish in decoration, and full of detail; all sense of size, strength and weight effaced to the utmost; delicately chiselled as a missal cover. Luca's, grand, massive and stern, doors to resist the battering of weapons, not an ornament permitted that might detract from their monumental solidity; each panel symmetrically filled with figures on one plane, broadly treated and standing out boldly against the solid metal plate. As the result of this severe treatment the first impression received is of the strength and resisting power of the doors. A battering-ram might be crashed against them without damage. Ghiberti has thought of his gates as panels for elaborate pictures, Luca has never forgotten that the purpose of doors is not ornament first of all, but defence. And an effectual defence these doors of Luca della Robbia actually proved, when on the fatal morning of the Pazzi murder Lorenzo fled for safety within the Sacristy, and they were crashed together by Poliziano and the rest in the face of the assassins.

Before beginning any criticism of this, next to the Cantoria the most important work of Luca's life, its history must be briefly stated.

The commission had been originally given to Donatello, as early as 1437, to execute two sets of doors for the two Sacristies,¹ but as nine years later he had not even begun them, the order was annulled, and the commission for those of the Sagrestia Nuova given to Luca della Robbia, Michelozzo, and Maso di Bartolommeo, called

¹ In his "Life of Brunellesco," Vasari speaks of a bronze panel executed by Donatello which he asserts to have been his trial-plate in the competition for the first Baptistery gates (Vasari, ii. 336). In this competition, however, we know that he never took part. Signor Milanesi suggests that this panel (now lost) might have been his first model for the doors of the Sacristy (Vasari, ii. 226, Note 2).

Masaccio,¹ who were required to finish the work within the space of three years (Doc. viii.). This commission was given in February 1446 (old style, 1445), but so far from the stipulated time being adhered to, they were still unfinished in 1463, and were not finally paid for—that is to say probably not entirely completed—until after 1470, the work apparently extending over, not three, but more than twenty years.

The association in the document of commission of the three names on equal terms (Michelozzo's even being placed the first), and the absence of any specification of the artists' shares in the work has given rise to theories and speculations as to authorship, to my mind conclusively disproved by the sculptures themselves. M. Reymond, for example, claims that the four lower panels and the ornamental heads of the framework are not by Luca at all, but by Michelozzo, to whom he also attributes the general severe design, probably influenced in this judgment by certain equivocal words in the document of commission.² In face of the work itself, even documentary evidence (in this case not at all conclusive) must sink in the scale. Four of the decorative heads, those above S. Mark and S. Luke, certainly show the *rozzezza* and peculiar style of Michelozzo, and may be attributed with little hesitation to him; but the entire series of the panels and the remaining twenty heads are characteristic in the highest degree of Luca's best work, and to no other hand can they possibly be attributed. To my thinking these four lower panels are not only the finest, but the most characteristic of all the series, and it is incredible that the hand which produced the Baptist of the Silver Altar and the Virtues of the Cossa Monument should be credited with the execution of these stately Fathers

¹ Tommaso di Bartolommeo, b. 1406, d. 1457? His chief works are the Portal of S. Domenico, Urbino (1449-1454), and the bronze gates for the Chapel of Sigismondo Malatesta in the Church of S. Francesco, Rimini.

² "*Di quella forma, modo et ornamenti, che mostra uno Modello al presente è apresso al detto Michelozzo,*" &c. (Doc. viii.).

of the Church, and these supple beautiful Angels.¹ In spite of theories, and judging only by analogies of style in the work itself, there seems little doubt that the entire design of the doors and the modelling of the panels was committed to Luca, and that Michelozzo, while aiding him in the decoration, was mainly concerned with the casting of the bronze. He was, as is well known, the most expert bronze-founder in Florence (no mean office, but one which required infinite skill and experience), and was employed in that capacity by both Donatello and Ghiberti,² and it does not appear that Luca himself ever actually cast the metal. The share of Maso di Bartolommeo is revealed by a later document drawn up after his death, when his brother Giovanni was chosen to fill his place, his duties being therein clearly specified. These were to clean and chisel the bronze panels already cast, and to generally finish off and set the doors together (Doc. xii.). A lengthy document of August 10, 1464, wordily acquaints us with the fact that Michelozzo being absent from Florence, and Maso di Bartolommeo being dead, the entire responsibility of completing the work was conferred upon Luca (Doc. xiii.). Another document records payment made on November 4, 1467, to Verrocchio, for metal lent to Luca *and Michelozzo* for casting *the two last reliefs* of the doors.³ This association of Michelozzo's name, who, as we have seen, had retired from the work in 1464, seems to prove that the panels at least were finished before that date. There remained therefore for Luca, left in sole charge of the work, merely to superintend the final chiselling, the damaschening, fitting together, and erection of the doors, unless the twenty ornamental heads,

¹ Michelozzo's masterpiece, the Angels of the Cappella Portinari in S. Eustorgio, Milan, are supple and beautiful it is true, but with a suggestion of Bacchic *élan* far enough removed from the stately calm of Luca's work.

² Michelozzo assisted Ghiberti in casting his first gate of the Baptistery. He frequently assisted Donatello in the casting and chiselling of his bronzes.

³ "1467. 4 Nov. Andrea del Verrocchio deve avere per metallo prestato a Luca e a Michelozzo per gettare le due ultime storie della porta della Sagrestia Fior . . ." (See Cavallucci, "S. Maria del Fiore," p. 136.)



Atinari, Florence

S. MARIA DEL FIORE

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Atinari, Florence

S. JOHN BAPTIST

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST
LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

S. MATTHEW
LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Altinari, Florence

S. GREGORY

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Altinari, Florence

S. AUGUSTINE

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Altieri, Florence

S. LUKE
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Altieri, Florence

S. MARK
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE

which are undoubtedly by him and not by Michelozzo, were not executed till after that date.

The figures are conceived by Luca in a less classic spirit than those of the Cantoria. The lyric quality is for the most part lacking, and the note struck is austere, almost sombre. The central figure of each relief is earnest and absorbed in thought, and the attendant angels are also, with a few exceptions, solemn and preoccupied. As the reliefs of the Cantoria express the brighter, more joyous side of Luca's nature, so do these sculptures of his maturer years represent him in contemplative and melancholy, yet strenuous mood. These figures have indeed something Mantegnesque in their concentration and severity.

In the two upper panels are the Virgin and the Baptist, the special patrons of Florence and the Cathedral. Below them the four Evangelists with their symbols, and in the lower series the Fathers of the Church, figures imitated in many external points from those of Ghiberti in the first Baptistery Gates. On either side of each figure stands a young attendant angel, framing them in and adding to their importance by the earnestness with which their attention is riveted upon them. Each relief is enclosed in mouldings of the utmost severity, and the space between these mouldings was originally damaschened upon the flat metal in gold, with a pattern of rosettes set in diamond-shaped lozenges. Of this ornamentation, which must considerably have brightened the severe design, we read in the Document of Commission: "*In each leaf five squares, ornamented with double frames, between each of which the said Masters are to make a flat frieze worked in damaschene of gold and of silver,*" &c. (Doc. viii. 1.). Nothing remains of the pattern, worn away with constant usage, but one frieze, the space between the panels of S. Mark and S. Jerome in the Right Leaf of the Doors. Here it is very visible, and appears of great delicacy and beauty. From the angle of each relief four heads project from a

quatrefoil, twenty-four in all, a decoration imitated from Ghiberti, and of great value in flattening and throwing back the reliefs by contrast of size and prominence. In their original state, with the damaschened work in gold and silver, the Doors must have appeared less sombre than now, but still rigorously severe. By this simplicity the groups in the reliefs, built up as compactly and architectonically as a Gothic arch, gain their full value and significance.

The Madonna is one of the most hieratic representations of her given by Luca, conceived with an almost Byzantine solemnity, and the Child is also majestic and grave, though not at all unchildlike. He holds a scroll on which doubtless was once inscribed in gold letters the usual legend *EGO SUM LUX MUNDI*. The angels bend their heads in awed reverence on either side.

The varied gesture and expression of these different angels show the thoughtful spirit in which Luca introduced them, not merely as conventional accessories, but with their own definite share in the theme. The Virgin and the Christ Child they meekly adore, to the Baptist and Evangelists they respectfully listen, while the Fathers of the Church they serve less meekly, and seem even to inspire and dictate their writings.

Of the four panels representing the Evangelists, those of S. John and S. Matthew are the finest. In the former the magnificent energy of the eagle will be noticed, which seems actually to be conveying the inspired thought to the writer. The figure of S. Matthew is noble, and treated broadly and freely, the attitude being especially easy and natural, as also is that of the angel who bends over him with so charming a grace, holding back the draperies which define so well the shape of the supple limbs. Of the four S. Luke is perhaps the least successful, the figures being more conventional and stiff in treatment.

The lower reliefs—the four Fathers of the Church—which M. Raymond is inclined to attribute to Michelozzo,

I find on the other hand to be the grandest and most characteristic of the whole series. They show, besides, most strongly the influence of Ghiberti, being, as has been said, almost imitated from the Church Fathers in his first Baptistery Gates, although their massive structure, concentration of expression, and the breadth and boldness of modelling offer a marked contrast to Ghiberti's slighter work. Finely posed, splendidly draped, with the dignity and freedom of gesture peculiar to Luca's work, they appear to me to rank among his noblest sculptures, to be the highest development of that concentration and energy, in which, when he pleases, he falls but little below Donatello himself.

Of special grandeur and distinction are the two mitred fathers S. Ambrose and S. Augustine, the first and last of the series, almost identical in type and character. The exceedingly beautiful figure of the young angel pointing to a book he holds, in the last relief (only to be properly appreciated in a photograph, for it is on a level with the ground), reminds us that Luca in these mediæval Christian representations has not forgotten the poetry of Greek art. Of this figure I shall have more to say presently, with reference to a beautiful terra-cotta statuette which closely resembles it. But before leaving the Bronze Doors a few stylistic points must be noticed.

First, the extreme simplicity with which the draperies are composed, the avoidance of any fold not essential to the structure of the form they cover, especially plain over the shoulders and breasts, where hardly a crease is allowed to disturb the fine modelling. Across the bodies and between the knees the lines sweep in splendid curves, and there is connection of these lines throughout the relief, undulating rhythmically across the entire group, welding and combining the composition, and giving that sense of coherence and unity to which we have so often drawn attention. In each panel one long accentuated line connects the figures, like the play of waves along a beach, with many breakages, but with con-

tinuity of movement. The strong, beautiful hands, supple and delicate, are specially noticeable in these reliefs, as in the Pazzi Apostles, and a corresponding beauty of shape in the shod feet.¹

Closely connected with the work of the Bronze Doors in sentiment and in treatment, is a fine terra-cotta group, unfortunately much damaged, representing the Incredulity of S. Thomas, in the possession of Herr von Beckerath, Berlin.² The resemblance between this charming youthful figure of S. Thomas and the angels of the Bronze Doors is most striking, especially in the one who points to his book on the right of S. Augustine, and the one to the left of the Baptist in the top relief. We find the same face also among the decorative heads of the framework, noticeably in those above S. John the Evangelist (right) and above S. Jerome (left). There is also a great likeness to the boy in the Campanile *Grammar*. In addition to this resemblance of feature, treatment of draperies, pose of figure, &c., are in the highest degree characteristic of Luca. We find Luca's peculiar arrangement of hair, combed from the centre of the skull in thick waving masses over the forehead and the nape of the neck,³ and his sinewy delicate hands, broad in the palm, with long tapering fingers. The slender build and alert carriage of the figure, the graceful yet simple

¹ Some reference must be made to the stucco relief, No. 114 of the Berlin Museum, which both Dr. Bode and Signor Cavallucci claim to be an original study for one of these panels. I agree with M. Reymond in rejecting the work, not only as a possible sketch for the Bronze Doors, but as being by Luca at all. Not to speak of the trivial character of the scene—(the Virgin is seated on the ground playing with the Child, the Saints are affectedly posed and all the figures entirely without dignity)—the coarse and badly-modelled hands would alone be sufficient evidence that the work is not by Luca. Moreover, the type of face, the restless treatment, as well as the motive of the angels festooning curtains as a background, have more in common with the school of Donatello than of Luca della Robbia.

² Through the kindness of Herr von Beckerath, I am enabled to publish for the first time a reproduction of this group. In the original the head of Christ is restored and so badly that much of the dignity of the figure is lost. The work was originally in Florence.

³ For this characteristic treatment of hair see especially the Angels above mentioned, the boy in the *Grammar*, the right disputant in the *Philosophy of the Campanile*, the Angels of the *Sagrestia Vecchia*, &c.



INCREDULITY OF S. THOMAS

LUCA DELLA ROBbia. COLL. OF HERR VON BECKERATH, BERLIN

(By kind permission of Herr von Beckerath)



Altinari Firenze

S. AMBROSE

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Altinari Firenze

S. JEROME

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Brugi, Florence

ANGEL BEARING CANDELABRUM
LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. DUOMO, FLORENCE



Brugi, Florence

ANGEL BEARING CANDELABRUM
LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. DUOMO, FLORENCE



HEAD OF YOUTH

LUCA DELLA ROBbia, BERLIN MUSEUM

(By kind permission of Dr. Bode)

attitude are also peculiar to him, and above all the broadly arranged draperies, plain over the breast and shoulders, sweeping in long folds across the body, and defining well the shape and solidity of the limbs beneath. When in addition to these external resemblances we find the inimitable poetic quality, the freshness and earnestness so attractive in his representation of young boys, there can be no hesitation in our acceptance of this beautiful group as a genuine and very characteristic work of Luca.

Before closing this chapter other works must be noticed, which although in enamelled terra-cotta have much connection with the Angels in the relief of the Bronze Doors and with the just mentioned group—the two statues of Angels bearing candelabra now in the Sagrestia Vecchia. They were executed in 1448 for the Chapel of the Sacrament, and are among the finest of the enamelled works. (Doc. viii.) In their present too high position they are not seen to advantage. The enamel, restored in places,¹ is of a creamy white and catches but few reflections, so that in the dim half-light of the Sacristy they have almost the appearance of marble. All the poetry of Luca's conception of boyhood is seen at its best in these figures, which, with the exception of the Pistoja "Visitation," are the only free statues executed by him in enamelled terra-cotta. In the shoulders are holes for the insertion of the wings, which may possibly have been of gilded metal.

In connection with these must be mentioned the coloured Medallion representing the bust of a youth, formerly in the Torrigiani Collection, now in the Berlin Museum. The flesh is enamelled in white, but the mantle is purple, lined with a bright green, and the vest is of pale blue. The head, probably intended for S. Ansano or some other Boy-Saint, with its free glance and well-modelled features, goes with these Angels of the Sacristy and was probably executed at no distant date.

¹ Signor Brogi has published photographs taken before the restoration in which the abraded surface of the glaze is visible as well as slight breakages of fingers, &c.

CHAPTER VI

S. MINIATO—THE FEDERIGHI TOMB—THE PISTOJA VISITATION—THE STEMMI OF OR. S. MICHELE

LUCA's next work of importance of which the date is known to us, was the decoration of the Chapel of the Crucifix in the Church of S. Miniato, near Florence. Here again he was associated with Michelozzo, to whom the commission for the building was given in 1448, the decoration being so closely connected with the architecture that we may conclude Luca's enamel work to have been of the same date.

The chapel was built for Piero de' Medici to enshrine the famous Crucifix, which is said to have bowed its head to S. Giovanni Gualberto, founder of the Vallombrosan Order; but though the shrine remains intact, the Crucifix is no longer within it, having been transferred in 1671 to the Church of SS. Trinità.¹ This small temple, set in the midst of the Romanesque Basilica, is one of the daintiest bits of Renaissance architecture, a masterpiece of elegance and graceful proportion; for however Michelozzo may have failed as a sculptor, as an architect he was unrivalled in the designing of such exquisite chapels as well as of fortress-like palaces. Architect and decorator have here worked together with the utmost harmony, Luca's share being the ornamentation of the roof, outside as well as in, and the frieze with the Medici device, which runs all round the chapel. The design of the heraldic frieze is of the greatest beauty, rivalling even Alberti's adaptation of the Rucellai Sails round the Loggia of their Palace and

¹ The Crucifix is now in the first chapel to the right of the High Altar, concealed by a curtain, and only unveiled once a year, on Good Friday. At other times a special permission is required to see it.

on the façade of S. Maria Novella. The three feathers clasped in a gold ring and connected by a scroll inscribed with the motto *SEMPER*, Luca has worked into a splendid decorative pattern. The feathers are white, fitted together in small pieces like mosaic, upon a dark blue ground, for the device is not painted like some of his flat borders. The curved roof above is covered with tiles of terra-cotta enamelled alternately in white, purple, and green, overlapping on each other like scales. Inside, the vaulting is elaborately coffered, white rosettes set in blue octagonal lozenges, framed in with delicate mouldings of classic pattern. I have been tempted to attribute also to Luca, in design at least, the grand eagle carved on the back of the chapel, so closely does it resemble with its fierce mien, its puffed-out breast, and powerful claws and wings, that of the Evangelist in the relief of the Bronze Doors. Vasari, however, refers to it expressly as the work of Michelozzo himself. "*In the lunette behind the chapel*," he writes, "*Michelozzo carved a falcon in low relief, with the diamond, the device of Cosimo, a most beautiful work.*"¹ If in reality it be the work of Michelozzo it is his masterpiece in sculpture.

M. Raymond supposes that the glazed terra-cotta Crucifix now over the high altar in this church was executed by Luca at the same date as the decorations of the chapel, an attribution I find it impossible to accept. The modelling of the figure, particularly of the arms, legs, and extremities, is bad and coarse, the loin-drapery is mechanically arranged, and gives no feeling of the thighs beneath, while the glaze is of a coarseness unknown in any of Luca's genuine works. Moreover, type of face, treatment of hair and beard are unlike anything by Luca, and belong rather to the manner of Giovanni, though the work is not of sufficient merit to be attributed even to his hand, and must be considered as a mere school production.²

¹ Vasari, ii. 444.

² The figure is much damaged, one arm is broken in three places, and the left thigh badly restored with stucco.

In 1449, the year following the decoration of the chapel, Luca was commissioned to execute the Madonna and Saints over the porch of S. Domenico, Urbino.¹ This beautiful work is seen to great advantage from the window in the corridor of the Ducal Palace opposite. His collaborator in the Bronze Doors, Maso di Bartolommeo, had the commission to construct the portal, and he employed Luca to fill the Tympanum. An extract from Maso's diary recording certain payments to Luca, mentions, besides the Madonna and SS. Peter Martyr and Domenico, a Tondo with God the Father, which was also to be executed by him (Doc. xv.). This has led to the suggestion that the half-figure of God the Father carved in the stone above the lunette may also be Luca's work, a suggestion which the inferiority of the sculpture emphatically contradicts. It is most probable that the idea of the Tondo was abandoned and the stone relief substituted, carved perhaps by Maso himself. However it may be, nothing on the façade but the lunette is the work of Luca.

Unfortunately the figures are much injured and badly restored, especially the face of the Madonna, who, judging by the majestic beauty of her form and bearing must have been one of the grandest of his Virgins. In its present state the entire face is a stucco restoration modelled so unskilfully as to have an almost grotesque appearance, and the fractures in the other figures have been equally badly restored. The breakages are due, it is said, to repeated blows from the balls in the game of Pallone, which used to be played in the Piazza below. In spite of its damaged state, the figure of the Virgin, with its erect head poised so proudly on the broad shoulders, has the nobility of an antique statue. Hera or Athene might have stood thus in the tympanum of a Greek

¹ "1449. Fa per l'arco della porta maggiore di San Domenico di Urbino una Nostra Donna, San Domenico e San Pietro Martire, mezze figure rilevate di terra-cotta invetriata."—Milanesi, Pros. Cron. Vasari, ii. 201.



MADONNA AND SAINTS

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. S. DOMENICO, URBINO

temple. She is superb in spite of her injuries and ill-modelled features.

In his treatment of the four saints Luca has bestowed more attention on individual character than is usual with him. So individual indeed are the faces of S. Thomas Aquinas and his master the Beato Alberto (the hindmost figures), that one is tempted to think of them as portrait-heads. More stylistic are the gaunt sensitive faces of S. Peter Martyr and S. Dominic. These were the models evidently in Andrea's mind in his conception of his favourite saints, Francesco, Bernardino, and Girolamo, the sensitive expression becoming ever more emotional in his treatment. The pose of the Child he had also in mind in designing several of his later Christs, there also exaggerating the characteristics.

The lunette is without surrounding garland or moulding, but is set deeply within the arch of the portal, framed only by the dark grey stone, and gaining so much grandeur of effect from its severe setting as to make us wish the reliefs were oftener inserted thus simply.

The same feeling for individual character as in these Saints we find even more strongly marked in the next work whose date is known to us—the marble tomb of Benozzo Federighi, Bishop of Fiesole, commissioned March 2, 1454 (old style). This was executed for S. Pancrazio, but on the suppression of that church in 1783 was removed to S. Francesco di Paola, a small church at the foot of Bellosguardo, of which the Federighi family were the patrons. Only within the last few years has it been placed in its present position in the Church of SS. Trinità.

Over the payment there was litigation between Luca and the heirs of the dead Bishop, who refused to pay the stipulated sum. The case was eventually referred to the Tribunal of the Mercatanzia, and judgment given in favour of Luca by the sculptor Andrea Cavalcanti, called *Il Buggiano*, who was deputed to arbitrate between them (Doc. xviii.). This was

in 1459, but we learn from Luca's own statement in his *Portata* to the *Catasto* of 1457 that the Tomb had been completed in 1456 (Doc. xvi.).

The face of the dead Bishop is one of the most striking and sympathetic portraits of the fifteenth century, treated with a realism and comprehension of character worthy of Donatello himself. It is the only undoubted portrait-head Luca ever sculptured, and its truth and directness of appeal make us wish he had given us others. The tragedy of life and the dignity of death have seldom been more forcibly expressed. The figure is treated with a simplicity which few of the Renaissance Tombs exhibit, comparable in this respect to that of *Ilaria di Careto* by Jacopo della Quercia, in the Cathedral of Lucca. The body is stretched out simply, without any effort at effect, not tilted forward for the behoof of the spectator as in so many of these monuments. So naturally does it lie within its niche, that it is with surprise we find on closer observation, one shoulder completely omitted and the whole figure adapted to the shallow recess in which it lies.

The keen, worn face to which Death has given serenity, the unconsciousness and stately tranquillity, impose on the spectator a solemn silence as in the presence of Death itself. The face bears traces of a character as full of conflicting passions, as complex and vehement as any Donatello has sculptured, but the passions have ceased, the fever of life is ended. As a revelation of the human mind, as a magnificent interpretation of character, the sculpture ranks with the grandest portrait of the Renaissance, with the *Scarampi* of Mantegna and the *Antonio Brocardo* of Giorgione. Higher praise it would be impossible to give.

Almost we must regret the elaborate ornament of cope and mitre, of pillow and bier-cloth, which disturb the rigid simplicity of the figure. These decorations must have originally appeared even more elaborate than now, for there



Alinari, Florence.

*Tomb of Benozzo Federighi.
Luca Della Robbia.
S.S. Trinità, Florence.*

are traces of the gold still to be seen, which accentuated the embroidered patterns, but which is now happily worn almost away.

Almost like a contrast to the beauty of this noble figure, is the *Pieta* carved on the background above it, among the stiffest and poorest of Luca's sculptures. The figure of S. John is especially tame and conventional, and his gesture as jerky as that of an articulated puppet. The introduction of the scene, a symbolic rather than an artistic addition, so disturbing in its dramatic character to the repose of the monument, was probably an annoyance to Luca, his treatment in consequence falling below his usual high standard.

Of great beauty are the two floating angels on the Sarcophagus who bear the garland of olives which frames the inscription. They have the closest affinity with Ghiberti's, especially those on the Reliquaries of S. Zenobio and of S. Hyacinth, and have the same buoyancy, the same graceful line of draperies, and the large scythe-like wings peculiar to Ghiberti; only the draperies cover strong and supple limbs, and the pinions support a solid weight of body, buoyant though it be.

The marble tomb is surrounded by a broad border of enamelled terra-cotta, of great beauty of design and colour. The border is in itself most delicate and charming, and in the decoration of a boudoir would be of incomparable value, with its daintily painted flowers—roses, lilies, and marigolds, fitted into a mosaic of greenish tint once heavily gilded. The introduction, however, of a framework thus detailed and light, in a work so stately and solemn, is—to my mind at least—an artistic error. Daintiness and bright colour, such as in this ornament, seem out of place enclosing so tragic a figure, besides detracting from the unity of the general effect. These elaborately painted tiles, however exquisite in themselves, seriously interfere with the breadth and massive dignity of the sculpture.

Vasari, after expressing unbounded admiration of the flowers and fruits painted in this border, "*so life-like and natural that with oils on a panel they could not be better done,*" goes on to say that a little while before his death, Luca began to paint, in the same manner on a flat surface, compositions with figures, of which he himself, he declares, had seen some examples.¹ Milanese and other critics have accepted as one of these (hypothetical) paintings, the poor and trivial Lunette in the entrance of the Museo del Duomo, representing God the Father between two angels. It is incomprehensible that almost in the presence of Luca's grand sculptures of the Cantoria, this trifling school production should be seriously attributed to his hand. The painting has every characteristic of the atelier, when, under the management of Giovanni it was imitating paintings and sculptures of popular artists. It appears to be, if not a copy of some fresco, at least an imitation of the manner of Alessio Baldovinetti.

With curious perversity, while many of the critics give to Luca this inferior work, only one so far as I know—Professor Marquand — attributes to his hand the noble group of the Visitation in the Church of S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas, Pistoja, one of the grandest and most characteristic of his works.² Till recently it was attributed to a certain local artist, Fra Paolino, and the authorities of the church even now speak of it doubtfully as belonging to "the Robbia School." Dr. Bode, while allowing it to be "in composition as in feeling the most beautiful group of the Renaissance," yet gives it to Andrea, as likewise does M. Reymond.

The fine grouping, massive and compact as though hewn out of a block of marble, the simple treatment, the broad sweep of the draperies accentuating the well-modelled forms, the absence of one line or touch that is not significant, the beautiful hands, the pure ivory-like surface of the glaze, all are characteristic of Luca's work at its noblest. The severe

¹ Vasari, ii. 176.

² See Frontispiece.



Altinari, Florence

PRUDENCE

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. PORTUGUESE CHAPEL, S. MINIATO



Altinari, Florence

JUSTICE

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. PORTUGUESE CHAPEL, S. MINIATO



Altieri, Florent

FORTITUDE

LUCA DELLA ROBbia. PORTUGUESE CHAPEL, S. MINIATO



Altieri, Florent

TEMPERANCE

LUCA AND ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. PORTUGUESE CHAPEL, S. MINIATO

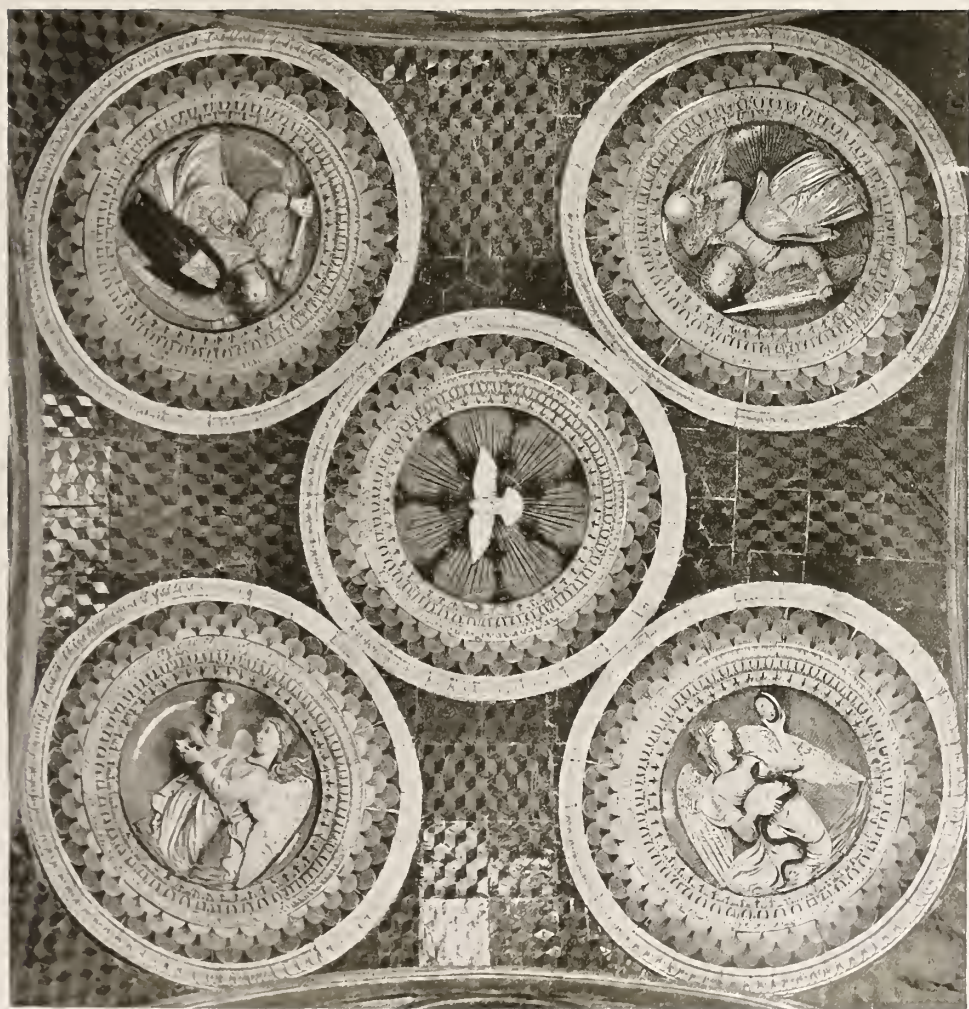
beauty of the Virgin's face, (the type is the same as of the Singing Maidens in the Cantoria,) her gravity and calm, are matched only in Luca's sculptures, while the breadth of treatment, the simplicity and earnestness in the conception of the subject are peculiar to him. Andrea, with all his charm, was incapable of producing so stately, so impersonal a work, so deeply felt, yet so restrained. The scene has never been more poetically or suggestively treated. The tender foreboding expression of the Virgin, the adoring reverence of the older woman, the sympathy flashing direct from one face to the other, their mutual comprehension and prophetic solemnity, make this one of the most beautiful, if not the grandest representation of the theme. Luca has the breadth of feeling by which emotions cease to be personal and become elemental and cosmic. One feels the *silence* of the meeting, the emotion too deep for words or gesture, to be expressed only in clasp of hand and flash of eye. It is strange that this noble work so profoundly felt, so classic in its reserve, so splendid in composition and modelling should be so little appreciated.

Its history is unknown to us, whether it was brought from Florence or originally executed for the Pistoja church. Its date is also unknown, but its perfection of workmanship and depth of feeling would lead us to place it in the maturest time of the artist's powers.

After the Tomb of the Bishop Federighi, the next important work whose date is ascertained is the decoration of the Portuguese Chapel in the Church of S. Miniato. The chapel itself was built by Antonio Rossellino in 1461,¹ and we may presume Luca's work to be of about the same date. It was ordered in commemoration of the young Cardinal, Jacopo of Portugal, famous for his virtue and beauty, who passing through Florence on a papal mission to Germany, died there in 1459 at the early age of twenty-six. Some of the greatest artists in Florence were employed to do honour to his place of

¹ Vasari, iii. 95, Note 1.

burial, and the chapel, even in its present condition, denuded of its Altar-piece and with its frescoes half crumbled away, remains still one of the most perfect of Renaissance monuments. On one side rises from floor to roof the tomb itself, Antonio Rossellino's masterpiece, somewhat overladen with excess of ornament and restless with flying draperies, but sobered down by the simple and pathetic figure of the dead Cardinal. The face, carved from the death mask, is that of a gentle serious boy rather than of a statesman concerned with weighty affairs. Opposite the tomb, of even greater beauty in its simplicity and fine proportions, is a marble throne inlaid with porphyry and green serpentine, and above it the beautiful Annunciation by Alessio Baldovinetti, which continues in the painting the architecture of the throne. The Virgin is seated on a similar marble and porphyry bench, the Angel kneels before her on the grass, and above the marble wall shoot slender cypresses and palms. By Alessio also are the now half-ruined frescoes in the Lunettes beneath the vaulting, and in the angles, and the frieze of shields below. Over the altar (of exquisite design and carving) was once the painting by Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, representing the Cardinal's patron saint Jacopo between S. Eustace and S. Vincent, now to be seen in the Uffizi (No. 1301). The entire decoration of the roof is in enamelled terra-cotta, five large medallions framed in white classic mouldings, set upon a ground of yellow, brown, and green chequers. In the centre medallion is the Holy Dove, pure white on a blue ground, from which radiate seven candlesticks in raised gold, their flames converging towards the Dove, source of the virtues they symbolize. The other medallions represent the four Theological Virtues, *Temperance*, *Justice*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*. The figures are classic and severe, and all four are evidently designed by Luca himself, though one at least bears signs of having been executed by Andrea. This is the first time in which his collaboration in Luca's work is visible, although there is no doubt he must



Alinari, Florence

THE CARDINAL VIRTUES

LUCA AND ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. PORTUGUESE CHAPEL, S. MINIATO

have assisted him for many years in subordinate parts, being at this time a man of twenty-six. It was, I believe, Dr. Bode who first drew attention to the different character of the *Temperance*, and attributed the execution to the hand of Andrea. Certainly there is little of the austere gravity of the other three in this bright childish face, which has the mildness and suavity peculiar to Andrea, and recalls at once his most typical Madonnas. Compare the animated gesture and vivacious expression with the tranquillity of the rest. The draperies are less broadly composed, the folds less sweeping, and the flutter of the hair, as though caught upward by a high wind, shows a restlessness foreign to Luca's style. The treatment of the relief, moreover, is rounder than the rest, or than is usual with Luca, who invariably flattens the surface in true classic fashion. The actual design of the figure is doubtless by Luca, for it follows the general scheme of decoration minutely, but it is equally certain that the execution is by Andrea, who, while adhering closely to his master's style, has unconsciously revealed his own peculiarities and tendencies. To Andrea also must be attributed much of the subordinate work in the *Fortitude*, whose somewhat weakly modelled body and stiff gesture it is difficult to reconcile with Luca's fine feeling for anatomy, while the insignificant ornament of the armour is neither conceived in his broad manner, nor executed with the care he bestows upon such detail as he permits himself. The *Prudence* and *Justice*, on the other hand, have every characteristic of Luca's work, gravity, dignity, finely modelled form, freedom of action, sweeping line. There is here no trace of Andrea's participation, and the contrast they afford to the *Temperance* makes the suggestion of his lighter style all the more striking. Of special beauty is the splendid curve of the serpent held by the *Prudence*, a line followed closely in the sweep of the draperies, undulating wave-like over the shoulder, and curling up beneath the elbow with that rhythmic continuity we have so often occasion to remark in

Luca's work, so different to the *staccato* whirl of Andrea's more restless line.

It is interesting to compare with these last medallions two others which evidently formed part of a similar scheme of decoration, the *Justice* and *Temperance*, now in the Musée de Cluny, Paris, beautiful reliefs in Luca's noblest, most characteristic manner.¹ The simplicity of treatment, especially in the draperies of the *Justice*, the dignity of pose and statuesque severity are greater than in either of the S. Miniato reliefs, and incline one to place them at an earlier date, in his best and most classic period. The medallions are surrounded by exquisite garlands in low relief, composed in the peculiar *flowing* manner with which he invariably treats these floral frames, each leaf arranged to carry the eye uninterruptedly around the circle, the whole garland being carefully subordinated to the central figure. How Paris became possessed of these splendid works is a mystery. From what Florentine, or at least Tuscan, church have they been torn? Is it possible that the companion medallions are hidden somewhere also in France, in the limbo of unrecognised masterpieces in private possession?

We now come to a group of works in which Luca, abandoning for the moment the nobler forms of sculpture, lent his genius to heraldic decoration. Six of these coats-of-arms are in existence, besides that already noticed in the cupola of the Pazzi Chapel, and although they are obviously of different dates, yet since they represent a special branch of his art, they may well be studied together. The largest and in every respect the finest of these *stemmi* is the medallion in South Kensington Museum with the arms of René d'Anjou. Never was mere decoration endowed with such vivid, flaming life. The great wings of the helmet strike out on either

¹ It is to be regretted that the difficulties of focus made it necessary to photograph the *Temperance* in perspective, which detracts much from the grandeur of the figure, never meant to be seen from such point of view.



Altinari Firenze

TEMPERANCE

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSÉE DE CLUNY, PARIS

side, spinous and strong like the pinions of an eagle, the tongues of flame shoot up from the braziers, darting their points and scattering their sparks like wind-shaken embers. The whole work is as vivid with flash and flicker as the fire-music of the *Götterdämmerung*, and around all this scintillating movement flows rhythmically and tranquilly the beautiful garland of leaves and fruits, seeming to confine and restrain the fierce blaze of the flames it encloses.

Since this is without comparison the finest of the garlands which are so original and beautiful a feature of Luca's art, it will not be out of place to analyse for a moment his peculiar treatment of them, and wherein they differ from the imitations of Giovanni and the later school. We have already observed his method of composing the leaves and fruits, so that they shall carry the eye without interruption around the enclosed space, each fruit and stem and leaf being arranged with this purpose, the strongest accent, like the current of a stream, being kept steadily in the centre, while sprays and leaf-points, like little ripples, break over the edge on either side. With this flowing effect in view the relief is kept rigidly low, the fruits hardly allowed to project above the leaves in which they nestle, or if they do, their natural saliency is considerably flattened. However natural Luca's treatment of vegetation may appear at first sight, it is far from being realistic. Each fruit and flower and leaf is modelled with a care and truth no botanist could find fault with, but the artist has conventionalized and adapted them to his purpose. Nothing illustrates this so clearly as the contrast between the garlands of Luca and of Giovanni, which, though less carefully studied and true in detail, are treated with greater realism, the projection and boss of the fruits being imitated, whereas Luca's fruits have as little weight as his flowers. The flowing quality of Luca's garlands, by which they fulfil their purpose as a frame, guiding the eye round the enclosed work, never obtrusive or final, was not comprehended by his successors

Andrea, as we shall see, used the garland but little, preferring the cherubs' heads, which, charming as they are in themselves, are yet totally opposed to the purpose of framework, since by their life and individual character they divert the eye from the main interest and claim too much attention, and by their salience and detachment from each other prevent any sense of continuity. Giovanni, while returning to the garland, retains in his grouping of the flowers and fruits the jerky disconnection and rotundity of Andrea's cherubs, detaches the bunches at wide distances, connected only by inadequate stalks, and violates the laws of gravitation by making the most ponderous fruits and vegetables point upwards, resting on the top of fragile leaves and flowers. No contrast could be greater than the garland surrounding this *stemma* of René d'Anjou, and even the best of Giovanni's, for example that which surrounds the Baptismal Font of Santa Fiora (see p. 220).

The *stemma* was executed for Andrea de' Pazzi and placed upon the outside wall of his villa near Florence to commemorate his reception there of the King. The arms on the shield are those of the King's many possessions, Hungary, Sicily, Jerusalem, Anjou, Bar, and Arragon—

“*Reignier, King of Naples,
Of both the Sicils and Jerusalem,
Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman.*”¹

The flaming braziers with the motto, *Dardant Desir*, were adopted by René as symbolic of his passion for his wife Isabeau, and used by him until her death in 1453. Their intertwined initials I. and R. surmount the helmet. The crescent moon with the motto, *Los en croissant*, was the badge of an order founded in 1268 by Charles I., King of Naples, and re-established by King René in 1448. This order was

¹ “Henry VI.,” Part III., Act i. Scene 4.



JUSTICE

LUCA DELLA ROBbia. MUSÉE DE CLUNY, PARIS



STEMMA OF RENÉ D'ANJOU

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM, LONDON

conferred upon Andrea in 1453, and from this fact and the presence of the flaming braziers, never used after the death of the Queen late in that year, the date of Luca's work is accurately determined.

Next in importance to this large relief are the three medallions on the walls of Or S. Michele, one of which, that of the Mercatanzia, or Council of Merchants, is dated for us by the document of payment (Doc. xix.). Here it is spoken of as having been commissioned the preceding *January or February* 1462 (New Style, 1463), and as part payment was made in September of the same year the date of execution is known with certainty.¹

Among the churches of Florence Or S. Michele is second only in beauty and interest to S. Maria del Fiore. Here, as there, the entire development of Tuscan art for over two hundred years can be studied in its different branches of sculpture and architecture. Like the Duomo it was built up gradually and very slowly, each century adding its tribute of representative art, the same masters being employed in both buildings. In its original state Or S. Michele was a mere open Loggia, which was built in 1280 by Arnolfo to accommodate the corn merchants, but this original building was entirely destroyed by fire, and the present church dates only from 1337, when the Loggia was rebuilt according to the original design. In 1355 the open arches were filled in by Orcagna for the protection of the miraculous Madonna, enshrined by him with so much magnificence, and at that time the general enlargement of the building and the decoration were conceived. Belonging especially to the merchants of Florence, each guild had a niche assigned to its honour in which it was required to set a statue of its patron saint in bronze, or in marble coloured to imitate bronze. Each

¹ The document was discovered by Professor Allan Marquand, and first published by him in his "Some Unpublished Monuments by Luca della Robbia" (*American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. viii., No. 2, p. 154).

guild sealed its appropriation of the Tabernacle by painting its arms above in a medallion.

In 1459 the Parte Guelfa, to whom the Tabernacle, now filled by Verrocchio's group of Christ and S. Thomas, originally belonged, was deprived of its rights, and forced to cede it to the Mercatanzia; its statue (the S. Louis by Donatello, now over the chief portal of S. Croce) was ousted, and the Mercatanzia instead of having their arms painted on the medallion above, employed Luca to emblazon them in enamelled terra-cotta. The *stemma* of the Mercatanzia was simply the Lily of Florence supported on a bale of wool. This lily Luca has enamelled in a beautiful violet upon a white shield, and affixed to a concave fluted shell of dark blue, surrounded by a garland of flowers and fruits, but little inferior to that of the Anjou medallion.

The Tabernacle below was empty at the time of the collocation of this *stemma*, for Verrocchio's group was not finished till twenty years later (1483). The influence of this group upon contemporary art was great. It became at once one of the most popular of Florentine sculptures, an indication of what was to follow in the redundant *baroque* treatment of the succeeding century. It is curious to note, considering its complete dissimilarity to Luca's simple style, the immense influence it had upon Giovanni and the later *atelier*.

On the south side of the church are two medallions, both attributed to Luca, one containing the arms of the Silk-Weavers, and the other those of the Physicians. The latter only is in fact by Luca, the arms of the Silk-Weavers being, as we shall see later, a characteristic work of Andrea. The device of the Guild of Physicians is the Madonna seated under a portico, and the same figure once filled their Tabernacle as patron saint. This statue, the earliest executed of all (for the Guild was one of the most important and wealthy of the Arts), is now inside the church, over the altar in the left aisle, whither



Alinari, Florence

STEMMA OF PHYSICIANS

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. OR S. MICHELE, FLORENCE



Altman, Florence

STEMMA OF MERCATANZIA
LUCA DELLA ROBbia. OR S. MICHELE, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

STEMMA OF ARCHITECTS
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. OR S. MICHELE, FLORENCE

it was removed after the riots caused by its supposed miraculous power of shutting its eyes.¹ The enamelled figure of the Madonna in the medallion above the empty Tabernacle, Luca has treated in so noble and sculptural manner, that it is with difficulty we remember she is no cultus-image, but the device of a *stemma*, and therefore to be criticised from the decorative rather than the imaginative point of view. Thus the brilliant and varied colours (it is the only time he has made use of a polychromatic scheme in his Madonnas) are employed in view of its heraldic purpose. These colours are very clear and bright, blue, purple, and green in the Virgin's robes, while the background against which she is seated is composed of grass-green tiles with a vivid pattern of yellow and blue.

With all this variety and brilliance the figure retains its statuesque severity. Seated in the hieratic *trecento* attitude, her robes draped with classic simplicity, with her serious and tranquil beauty, this is one of Luca's noblest Madonnas. She is bareheaded, without any veil, the only time she is thus represented by him, and her hair is of the brightest yellow. The skill with which Luca has inserted into the round medallion the oval arch beneath which she is seated (part of the device and therefore bound to be included in the composition), shows his great decorative power. The sides left vacant he has filled in with tall white lilies, the flowers of the Madonna, which occupy the spaces most successfully. The fine proportions of the arch and its delicate mouldings recall the work of the Cantoria. With characteristic restraint he has avoided the garland, which would have detracted from the effect made by the beautiful lilies, in themselves a floral framework to the figures they enclose.

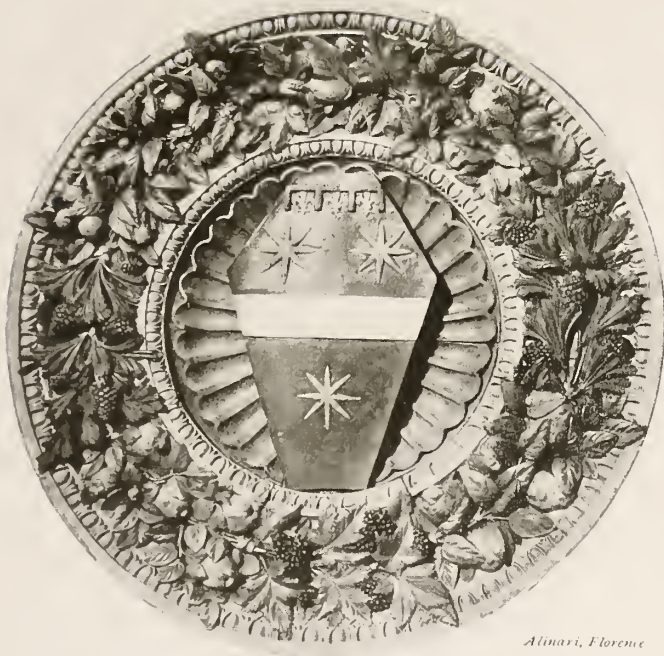
The third coat-of-arms executed by Luca for this church

¹ The statue bears inscribed on the pedestal the following curious legend, commemorative of the incident which caused its removal: HANC FERRO EFFIGIEM PETIT IVDAEVS ET INDEX IPSI SVI VVLGO DILANIATVS OBIT MCCCCLXXXIII.

was for the Guild to which he himself belonged, the Masters in Wood and Stone, as it was called, which included, besides sculptors and architects, bricklayers and carpenters. Their device had no picturesque qualities like those of the Mercatanzia and Physicians. It was merely a collection of tools and implements, the axe, trowel, hammer, square and compasses, difficult material from which to compose an æsthetic design. Luca, with his fine decorative sense, has however succeeded in creating therefrom a most beautiful pattern. The large axe in the centre and a few of the ornaments only are in relief (very low), most of the design being painted on the flat surface. Its chief beauty lies in the curves of the floral decoration and the rich and harmonious colour of the enamels. Luca has avoided much accentuation of the tools and has laid his emphasis upon this floral pattern, softening the uncompromising lines by the curves of flowers and foliage. The axe, enamelled with delicate white, lies on a ground of fern-leaves in two shades of violet, and the smaller tools are set against a pattern of green and blue roses. Technically, this painting on the flat surface is of greater excellence than the border of the Federighi Tomb.¹

Two other coats-of-arms were executed by Luca, those of the Pazzi and Serristori families. These medallions were until quite recently in the centre of the roof of what was formerly an open Loggia round the Cortile of the Palazzo Pazzi, Via di Proconsolo, but they have now been removed to the Palazzo Serristori. The design is the same as in the *stemma* in the Cupola of the Pazzi Chapel and the Mercatanzia, the shield bearing the arms affixed to a blue shell and surrounded by broad garlands in very flat relief. In these garlands no flowers are introduced, they consist of nothing but fruits and leaves, the pine-cones with their brush-like needles, so favourite

¹ It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that the *stemma* of the Guild of Butchers on the same wall—the Goat supported by *putti*—is modern. It is of the Ginori fabbrica, and was executed many years ago.



Alinari, Firenze

STEMMA OF SERRISTORI FAMILY
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, PALAZZO SERRISTORI, FLORENCE



Agnari, Florence

STEMMA OF PAZZI FAMILY

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. PALAZZO SERRISTORI, FLORENCE

a decoration with Luca, being of special beauty. It will be noticed as a proof that Luca never repeated even the section of a garland mechanically, that although the groups of leaves and fruits are arranged in almost the same order in both garlands, pine-cones, quinces, grapes, and so on, no two are composed alike, but each separately designed and with infinite variations.

The shield with the Pazzi arms is much damaged, the dolphins and crosses being nearly indistinguishable, but the Serristori *stemma* is in a good state of preservation.

With these closes the list of Luca's heraldic work. We know how popular this form of emblazoning became later, and the countless number of such medallions which decorate the walls of every municipal building in Tuscany. Only a few have artistic merit, many are among the poorest and most carelessly executed of the *atelier* work, yet all have decorative value and the charm of brilliant colour, as they gleam out like bright flowers from the discoloured stone. How they brighten, for example, the Cortile of the Bargello, placed here and there among the more severe, yet much better executed, stone scutcheons of the Podestà. Such touches of colour are of infinite value and beauty, and the enamelled terra-cottas never seem so suitable, so harmonious with their surroundings, as when adding their point of sunny life, always fresh and spring-like, to the crumbling walls of the past.

CHAPTER VII

IMPRUNETA

FEW works of Luca della Robbia offer greater difficulties as to dating than the decorations of the two chapels in the Collegiata of Impruneta. These fine enamelled terra-cottas were first brought into notice by Professor Marquand.¹ They were, it is true, mentioned as long ago as the end of the last century by a local writer,² and Signor Carocci, in his "*Dintorni di Firenze*," alludes to them as "*stupende terra-cotte di Luca della Robbia*,"³ but it remained for Professor Marquand to give them their due place among his most important and beautiful enamelled works. The sculptures present other difficulties besides those of dating, for it is evident from the different character of some parts that Andrea had a very important share in the execution.

The small village of Impruneta (a corruption of La Pineta) lies about six miles south of Florence, at the foot of a hill crowned with the stone-pines from which it takes its name. It is celebrated for the possession of a miraculous image of the Virgin, which in time of plague was carried in procession to Florence, and in whose powers it is said Savonarola placed implicit faith; and it was this sacred image that one of the chapels decorated by Luca was built to enshrine. Opposite to it is a similar chapel, also decorated by Luca, now called the Chapel of the Holy Cross from the relic it encloses, but originally, as we shall see, intended for the reception of the

¹ "Some Unpublished Monuments by Luca della Robbia" (*American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. viii., p. 161).

² Giov. Battista Casotti, "*Memorie storiche della Miracolosa Immagine di Maria Vergine dell' Impruneta*," published 1714.

³ Carocci, "*Dintorni di Firenze*." Firenze, 1881, p. 225.

Sacrament. The architecture of both chapels is without doubt by Michelozzo, to whose shrine in the SS. Annunziata, Florence, they bear the closest resemblance, both in general design and in the details of architectural ornament. Like that chapel, both those of Impruneta are spoiled by a mass of vulgar modern stucco-work which entirely destroys their fine proportions. The date of building and decoration we shall discuss later, when Andrea's share in the work has been determined, for by accepting his participation we exclude the years before his full maturity.

The enamelled decorations are nearly the same in both chapels, and comprise, in that to the left of the high altar, two statues supporting a marble tabernacle, the coffered roof, and a broad frieze running round the outside of the building, and in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, the entire Altar-piece, tabernacle as well as statues, and a similar coffered roof. The frieze which this chapel certainly once had, as the state of the stone-work shows, has now disappeared, and is replaced by roughly executed stucco ornaments of a late date.

The Tabernacle in the Chapel of the Madonna seems to be the work of Michelozzo, as a comparison with that of the Mercatanzia, Or S. Michele, proves. Not only is the general design identical, but much of the detail as well, the small spirally fluted pillars with Ionic capitals, the frieze of garlands supported by cherubs, and the angels carved in low relief in the angles of the arch, being almost exactly alike in both tabernacles.

Below in the Predella, unfortunately completely hidden by the high and massive silver altar, which permanently disfigures the sculpture, is a carving in very low relief representing a legend connected with the sacred image.¹ The story goes that

¹ Thanks to the kindness of Signor Carocci, Royal Inspector of Monuments, I was enabled to see this sculpture at infinite cost of labour in the removal of the cumbrous silver Predella. It is uncovered only on the rarest occasions, and as far as the public is concerned might as well not exist. Up to 1712 the image enclosed in this tabernacle was guarded by painted wooden doors, which were engraved in 1633 by Stefano della Bella. They were removed in the restoration of the church. (Marquand, "Some Unpublished Monuments," p. 167.)

the image having been stolen from the church, and fruitless search made, some peasants not long after ploughing with their oxen, the beasts suddenly fell upon their knees, and no effort could induce them to rise. Thereupon search was made and the image of the Madonna found buried under the furrows. The relief illustrating this legend is the work, not of Luca, but of Michelozzo, of whose sculpture it has all the characteristic merits and defects. The relief is so low that the finger scarcely feels a change of surface passing over it, but the perspective of the little building (intended to represent the Collegiata itself) and of the distant hills is so skilful that it seems like a delicate painting in grisaille. The carving is charming in its way, with its *naïve*, pictorially treated landscape and its dainty fluted pilasters on either side, and it is a thousand pities that it should be hidden behind the florid modern altar.

On either side of the Tabernacle stand the nearly life-sized figures of S. Paul and S. Luke, enamelled in pure white against a background of blue tiles designed to look like large, irregularly cut blocks of stone. The figures appear free-standing statues but are in reality attached to the background. Difficulty as to authorship at once begins, for never were two sculptures, stylistically so alike, so dissimilar in feeling—one figure so noble, so splendidly posed, so free in expression and gesture, the other so feeble, so ill-balanced, so lacking in dignity. That the S. Luke (to the right of the Tabernacle) is by Luca himself there can be no possible doubt. Besides the likeness of the face, treatment of hair, beard, &c., to the Pazzi apostles (particularly S. James the Less), and to the Christ of the Resurrection, it has all the marks of his style—force of expression, that far-seeing glance which gives his figures so inspired a look, the strongly built frame with the toga-like draperies wrapped round it in simple folds; above all, the broad treatment of the relief by which so much of its dignity is gained. It is indeed one of his noblest enamelled terra-cottas, and has the classic grandeur of the S. Andrea of the Pazzi Atrium.

On the other side is S. Paul, alike in external of feature and drapery to Luca's work, yet failing in every respect to attain the same quality. The face, so similar in type to many of Luca's, is feeble and vacillating in expression, the shoulders and chest are narrow, the legs unfirmly planted, and the whole figure so badly balanced as to give the impression that but for the hand which seems to be clinging to the wall, it would topple over.¹ No contrast could well be greater than the concentration, self-reliance, and vigour of the one figure, and the irresolution and feebleness of the other. Confronted by such a contrast, it is apparent that the two statues cannot be by the same hand. Luca, whose fundamental qualities are strength and energy, could never so entirely contradict his nature as to produce work in which these qualities are conspicuous by their absence. On the other hand, without intending to attribute weakness to Andrea's best work, a certain feebleness of expression and *physique* is often to be found in his figures. The spiritual qualities of Andrea's art, as we shall see, are not so much dignity, self-reliance and the stronger virtues, as tenderness and mildness. It is beyond his power, however closely he may imitate the stately forms of Luca, to animate them with Luca's spirit. There is marked difference also in the treatment of the two statues, that of Luca being flatter in relief and modelled with greater breadth of plane, that of Andrea being rounder, and the modelling less simple and broad.

However bold it may appear to separate the work of the two artists in so decisive a way, there seems no doubt whatever that the figure of S. Paul is entirely executed by Andrea, imitating the manner and possibly following the design of Luca. We shall find the whole of the Impruneta work divided in the same way between master and pupil.

Outside the chapel, below the grey stone cornice, runs a broad frieze of fruits and leaves, boldly and massively modelled,

¹ This hand formerly held a sword, of which only the hilt remains, but even with that addition the balance of the figure would be little better.

yet with characteristic flatness of relief. Great citrons and bunches of grapes lie half hidden among their leaves, upon a background of creamy white, which allows full value to the brilliant colours, the blue-greens of the leaves, the yellow and purple of the fruits. In the centre of each frieze is inserted a small rectangular *plaque* on which is a Madonna clasping the Child in her arms, white on a blue background. The two *plaques* are almost identical, yet obviously not repeated in a mould. This is proved, not by such slight differences as that one Madonna has a veil while the other is bareheaded, for such alterations are easy in mechanical reproductions before the hardening of the clay, but by the complete difference of expression in the figures of both Virgin and Child, as well as by the clearness of the modelling, invariably somewhat thickened in a squeeze. In my opinion we have again to distinguish the work of Luca from that of Andrea.

In the Madonna facing the entrance of the church, we find the serious rather severe expression peculiar to Luca's Virgins, and in the Child his far-seeing, thoughtful, yet infantine look. In the other, which I attribute to Andrea, the melancholy dignity of the Madonna is replaced by a half-childish timidity, and the serene glance of the Child by a feeble and pathetic look. Luca's Madonna is years older than the girlish figure of Andrea, and the veil, omitted in the other, adds to the gravity of the face. This is one of his most human and tender conceptions both of Mother and Child. She, sad and foreboding, less impersonal than usual, the Christ simpler and more childlike, resting His head quietly on her breast. The relief goes in every way with one of his most beautiful terra-cottas—the "Madonna of the Apple" (p. 123) to be considered later.

By the side of it the lack of spontaneity in Andrea's copy becomes apparent.¹ It is charming, but it strikes a lighter

¹ Good illustrations of the two *plaques* are to be seen in M. Reymond's book. The plates were destroyed, Signor Alinari informed me, after the repro-



Alinari, Florence

TABERNACLE

LUCA AND ANDREA DELLA ROBbia, WITH PREDella BY MICHELOZZO
CHapel of MADONNA, IMPRUNETA



Altinari, Florence

TABERNACLE

LUCA AND ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. CHAPEL OF HOLY CROSS, IMPRUNETA

note. The sentiment is more trivial and the dignity is absent. In a word, we have in the one relief all the characteristics of Luca, in the other all those of Andrea.

Michelozzo's Chapel of the Holy Cross opposite encloses a Tabernacle entirely of enamelled terra-cotta of various hues, supported in the same way as the foregoing by two figures glazed in white. This Tabernacle is of slender and beautiful proportions, the Tympanum more important than in that of Michelozzo, and corresponding with Luca's marble monument of Peretola, to which it bears a close resemblance besides in much detail, such as the capitals of the pilasters, the border of rosettes, &c. In the base of the frame are painted with much realisation of their solidity, groups of pine-cones, the only painting on the flat surface we have from Luca's brush which is not conventional and merely decorative. The colours in the pilasters, green, blue, and purple, are run one into the other, giving a kind of iridescent look, an innovation not altogether successful in its effect.

On either side of the Tabernacle stand S. John the Baptist and S. Augustine, one figure, as in the opposite altarpiece, being much superior to the other. All the remarks made in reference to the S. Paul and S. Luke apply equally to these statues, the differences are as pronounced, and there is no doubt that here too the work has been shared between master and pupil, and that Andrea executed one of the figures after the design of Luca.

Nothing could be stronger, freer in bearing, nobler in expression and gesture than this alert figure of the Baptist. Nothing could be more finely modelled than his limbs, hands and feet, nothing more masterly than the simple treatment of the hair tunic on his broad chest and shoulders. The face is like that of S. James the Less among the Pazzi Apostles, and

duction was made, and I am therefore unable to give them here, no one else having photographed them, and the labour of erecting scaffolding for so great a height making photography a matter of infinite difficulty.

that of S. Luke in the opposite chapel, but is even more concentrated and keen. The whole figure seems to vibrate with tense life and energy. In the lifeless statue opposite we have the same type of face, the same features, the same prominent cheek-bones, the same arrangement of the beard. We have Luca's simple draperies, and this time, also, his massively constructed frame. But the expression of the face is weak and vacant, the limbs are flaccid and inert. The entire figure is mechanical, stiff, and lifeless, the work of a man imitating forms with which he has little real sympathy. Evidently again we have in this S. Augustine Andrea working after the design of Luca.

The Predella below is by Luca himself, and is one of his most beautiful reliefs. If it should appear strange that while leaving parts, apparently of more importance, to his pupil, Luca should himself have executed the subordinate part, it must be remembered that in its original state this Predella with its shrine *was* the principal part and focus of the Tabernacle, the receptacle of the Holy Sacrament which the whole altarpiece was executed to enclose. Of the alteration from its original purpose we shall speak presently.

On either side of the small door of the shrine float four angels, those nearest in subdued adoration, those beyond with more animated gesture, as though beckoning others to come and worship. The graceful buoyant forms with scythe-like sweep of wing recall again the angels of Ghiberti. They seem actually to float in the deep blue ether. Rarely has Luca surpassed the beauty of these figures with their earnestness and ethereal grace.

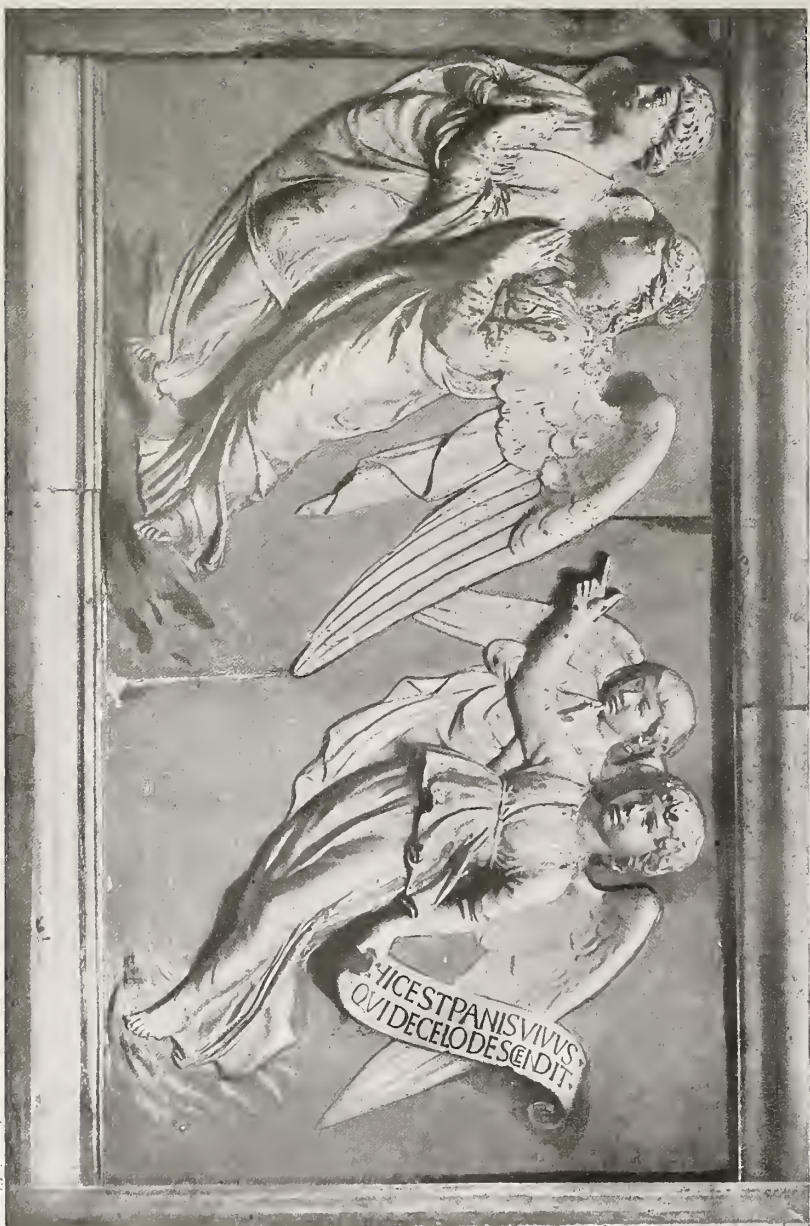
The enamel is much broken, injuries probably received from contact with the jars, candlesticks, and trumpery ornament by which this most exquisite relief is completely hidden from sight. No eye but the student's, aware beforehand of the treasures concealed behind the dusty paper flowers, obtains even a glimpse of it. Charming and appropriate as is the



Atinari, Florence

PREDELLA TO TABERNACLE

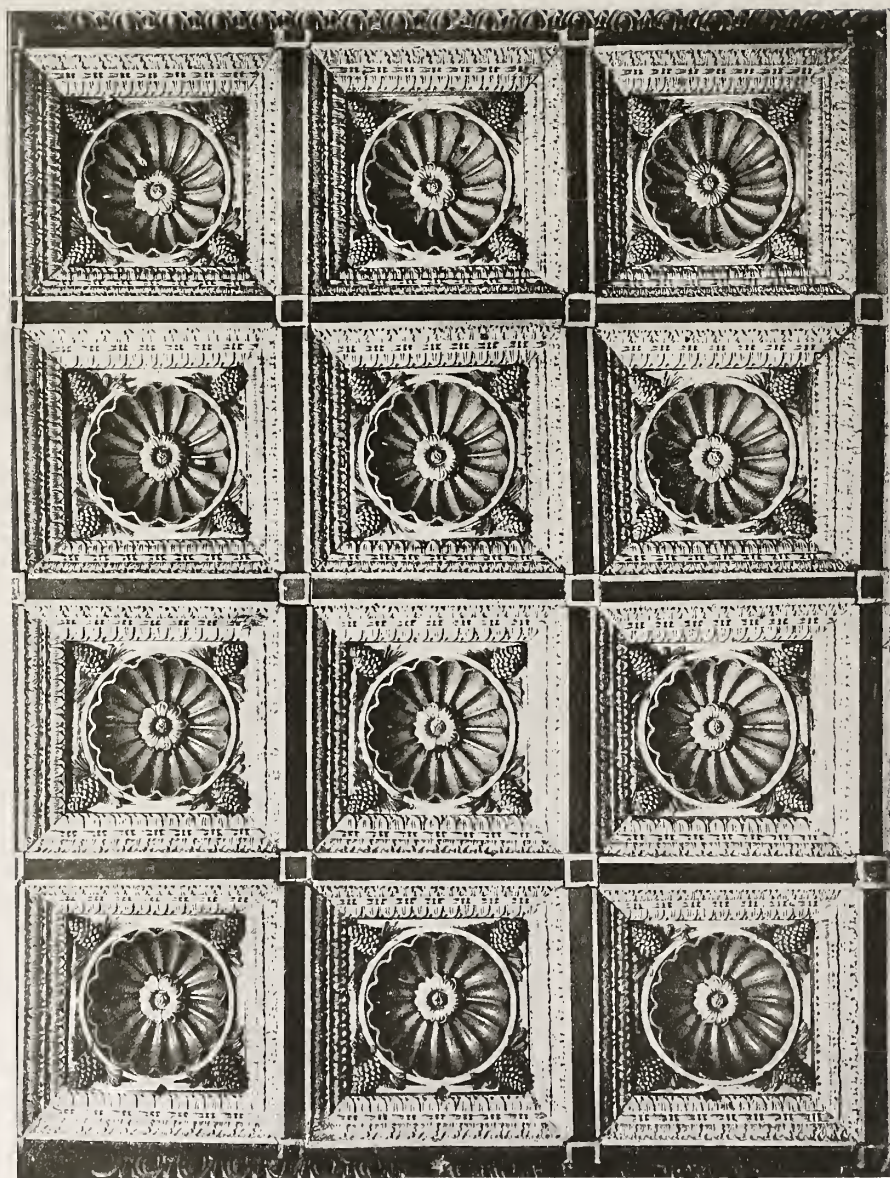
LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. CHAPEL OF THE HOLY CROSS, IMPRUNETA



Jimnati, Firenze

PREDELLA TO TABERNACLE

LUCCA DELLA ROBBIA, CHAPEL OF THE HOLY CROSS, IMPRUNETA



Atinari, Florence

COFFERED ROOF

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA. CHAPEL OF MADONNA, IMPRUNETA

setting of these sculptures in the midst of the pine-covered hills of Impruneta, one cannot but wish, considering the obstructions, the bad lighting, the cumbrous and vulgar ornaments surrounding and overshadowing them, that they were in more appreciative keeping, even if it were the dull atmosphere of a museum.

Both chapels are roofed with a very beautiful design in enamelled terra-cotta, one exactly resembling the other, twelve elaborate cofferings with classic mouldings glazed white, in the centre of each of which a yellow rosette rests upon a blue concave shell, and in the four angles a pine-cone with its needles, a charming and original design. Pine-cones have always been a favourite decoration of Luca, more than any other fruits or flowers, and here in this Church of the Pine-woods they are specially appropriate.

The Frieze of this second chapel is missing, and in its place are some worthless stucco reliefs, probably executed at the time of the "restoration" of the church in 1650. It seems certain from the appearance of the masonry that there has been originally a border corresponding to that of the opposite chapel, for the present ornament is roughly applied on an uneven surface of mortar, sunk deep below the level of the stonework, which has all the appearance of being the substructure of the missing frieze. Both chapels correspond so exactly in every architectural detail that it seems unlikely so important a feature of the decoration should have been omitted. It is of course possible that it was left unfinished by Luca, but hardly probable that if this were the case, Andrea should not have been employed to fill the gap. Some kind of enamelled border the chapel must certainly once have had, and the probabilities are that it has been sold to some appreciative collector of the seventeenth century by the non-appreciative guardians of the church, and is probably still in existence hidden away in some French château or the cellars of some museum.

We come now to a very important point in connection with this ill-used altarpiece of Luca della Robbia. It has been diverted from its original purpose as the shrine of the Holy Sacrament to serve as a reliquary for a still more sacred treasure, a treasure by the side of which even the miraculous Image in the opposite chapel pales in glory. This is no less than a large fragment of the True Cross, which was presented to the church by Filippo Scolari, better known as Pippo Spano. The relic is contained in a cupboard closed by the bronze doors whose style is so incongruous with the altarpiece, and which were executed in 1636 by a certain Cosimo Merlini. It is generally accepted that Luca designed the Tabernacle with a view to enshrine this precious relic, and it has even been stated that the present grating replaced a painted wooden door such as we know enclosed the Image of the Madonna. This is not correct. The Tabernacle was never intended to contain the relic of the Holy Cross, but merely to serve as the shrine for the Sacrament, the receptacle for which, as we have seen, is behind the little door of the Predella. What the richly enamelled framework originally enclosed, what the appropriate statues of the Baptist and S. Augustine supported was the altarpiece of the Crucifixion, by Luca himself, now collocated in the adjoining chapel. This has, as far as I am aware, never been hitherto noticed by the critics, but it is the tradition accepted by the authorities of the church, and the proofs are too convincing to admit of doubt. First, and most important, the altarpiece fits to a hair's-breadth into the space in the Tabernacle now filled by the grating, a strong piece of evidence, since the least deviation of line in the curve of the arch would prevent the fit.¹ Secondly, the stone framework which now encloses the Crucifixion is of the same date (seventeenth century) as the grating which has replaced it. Lastly, the choice of saints and their gesture becomes signifi-

¹ I have myself taken the measurement and found not the slightest deviation from the curve.

cant; the Baptist, as prophet and pioneer of Christ, pointing to the culminating scene of His life, S. Augustine, as chief expounder of the Redemption, preaching with upraised hand the perpetual sacrifice of the Holy Sacrament, the sequence and conclusion of the Crucifixion. No design for a Tabernacle of the Body of Christ could be more appropriate.

It is most likely that the construction of the cupboard to contain the relic of the Cross was one of the "improvements" made in the church during the restoration so fatal to its beauty, which was completed in 1650 as an inscription on the base of one of the pillars records.

The relief of the Crucifixion, which is now in the adjoining chapel, is certainly the work of Luca himself, notwithstanding a certain suggestion of emotionalism which at first sight seems foreign to his usual reserve. It is, however, but a superficial criticism which condemns these stately figures as emotional. The longer they are studied the more noble and restrained do expressions and gestures appear, the more profoundly felt and sincerely rendered. Grave, solemn, deeply moved they are, with their clasped hands and fervent gaze, but their grief is disciplined and silent. The sombre figure of the crucified Christ is one of the grandest of Luca's creations. Putting aside the superb construction of the body and limbs, which challenges the most scientific criticism, there is an expression of impersonal suffering in the face, significant of the more cosmic side of the tragedy, an expression a contemporary of Æschylus might have given to Prometheus on Caucasus, far removed from the usual representations of the later *quattrocento*. All the stylistic peculiarities of Luca's work are here—the long narrow head of the Christ, the powerful torso, the austerity, the treatment of the hair, the feeling for the limbs beneath the draperies, the splendid modelling of the delicate hands and feet. The angels are almost identical with those in the Duomo Resurrection, and the foliage of the pelican's nest closely resembles that of the shrubs in the

Ascension. The relief is not, and probably never will be, popular. It is like certain severe and thoughtful compositions of music, hardly attractive at first hearing, but which become, as one gives one's faculties to the comprehension of them, enduring, never-palling possessions.

The maturity of the work I have attributed to Andrea in these two chapels makes it certain that the decorations cannot be placed earlier than 1460. The figures of S. Paul and S. Augustine, whatever their defects, are no youthful productions, but executed by a man in full possession of his powers. As Michelozzo, the architect of the buildings, died in 1472, we are limited to the time between these two dates, and may reasonably place the execution of the decorations somewhere between 1460 and 1470, probably in the earlier years of the decade.

M. Reymond and Professor Marquand both agree in placing the work at as late a date as 1477, supposing it to be part of certain restorations done at that time by Bishop Antonio degli Agli. It would indeed be marvellous that a man of seventy-seven should execute work so full of life and energy as these statues of S. Luke and the Baptist. But the suggestion loses weight from the fact that the chapels were not commissioned by the Bishop, but by the Buondelmonti family, the founders and patrons of the church, as is proved by the presence of their *stemma* carved on the base of both.



Atinari, Florence

CRUCIFIXION

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. CHAPEL OF HOLY CROSS, IMPRUNETA

CHAPTER VIII

THE MADONNAS

It is perhaps as the sculptor of beautiful Madonnas that Luca is best known and appreciated by the general public, and certainly some of his noblest conceptions are embodied in these splendid figures, stately and strong, with their grave far-seeing glance. Attention has already been drawn to the emphasis he lays upon the hieratic character of the Madonna, his representation of her as the High Priestess who presents the Child to man's worship. In this respect nothing can be more different than that of Andrea, who sees in her only the human maternal side. The Madonna of Luca is a goddess, broad-shouldered, fearless, and serene, the Greek Nike or Athene rather than the *Ancilla Domini*.

Yet with all Luca's accentuation of her divine nature, it is a remarkable fact that in the thirteen representations of her which exist he has only twice given her that outward sign of Divinity, the Halo, and on both these occasions she is the *Mater Dolorosa*, mourning her dead Son.¹ Neither has he once given the Halo to the Christ-Child, nor to any Angel except the one who attends S. Matthew in the Pazzi Apostles. The number of times he has introduced it in the whole series of his works is easily reckoned—in the two *Pietàs* of the Peretola Tabernacle and the Federighi Tomb, in the single

¹ I have not of course used this in any way as a test of Luca's authentic work. I had already made my decision as to the one or two doubtful Madonnas before I noticed the fact, but it is significant that in the few which have some of the character of Luca's work, yet for important reasons must be rejected as his—the Viviani Madonna, the Madonna No. 10 of the Museo Nazionale, and the Oxford Medallion, the haloes are present.

figures of Christ in the Resurrection and Ascension, and in twelve out of the thirteen medallions of Apostles in the Pazzi Chapel.

Luca's avoidance of the Halo is but another proof of the purity of his taste. That which in painting is so decorative, in sculpture is a mere clumsy weight. In painting the Halo is of value, the shine of the gold giving brilliancy to the colours, while the opportunity it affords of delicate stamping or slight relief adds much to the decorative effect. In sculpture, on the contrary, the solid disc interferes, except in rare cases, with the beauty of line and composition, and inevitably suggests a plate. Luca had too true an instinct as an artist to allow symbolism to interfere with the æsthetic effect of his sculptures, and introduced the Halo only where the circle adds to, rather than detracts from, the harmony of the composition, as for example in the Pazzi Medallions where it follows the curves of the Tondo, or where, as in the Duomo reliefs, it emphasizes the apex of the Tympanum. He never, with the exception of the Peretola *Pietà* and the Pazzi S. Matthew, has introduced more than one in the same composition.

Andrea, on the other hand, whose composition is his weakest point, lavishes them profusely, not only round the head of every Saint and Angel, but of every Cherub in the frame, producing a spotted effect in his altarpieces which destroys much of the significance of the scenes and of the heads themselves.

Of all the enamelled terra-cotta Madonnas of Luca della Robbia, the date of but one, the Urbino Lunette, is known to us, but it is among them we shall find in all probability earlier work than any we have yet considered, work executed most likely in those obscure years before the carving of the Cantoria.

Of the numerous Madonnas attributed to Luca—and their name is legion—only six besides those already mentioned appear to be by him. These are the Madonna in the Gallery of the



Altieri, Florence

MADONNA

LUCA DELLA ROBBIÀ. OSPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI, FLORENCE



"FRESCOBALDI MADONNA"

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA BERLIN MUSEUM

(By kind permission of Dr. Rode)

Innocenti Hospital, the "Frescobaldi Madonna," now in the Berlin Museum, the Madonnas of the Roses, and of the Apple, Nos. 28 and 31 of the Museo Nazionale, and the two Lunettes of S. Pierino and the Via dell' Agnolo.

The first executed of these, and, indeed, the earliest existing work of Luca, appears to me to be the Madonna of the Innocenti. Of all the sculptures hitherto considered, this is least free and assured in workmanship, and shows signs of least maturity. It is impossible to doubt its being by Luca himself, for notwithstanding its shortcomings it bears marks of all his characteristics, both technical and spiritual, only the execution is more tentative. First, though the composition as such is massive and noble, the Child is ill-balanced and awkwardly posed, and gives a disagreeable sensation of weight on the Virgin's arm. Next, the modelling of the Virgin's face and hand is less subtle than is usual with Luca, her gesture as she points to the inscription below is stiff, and the forearm not well indicated. Lastly, the faces of both figures are less intellectual and concentrated than in any other of his works, that of the Virgin being indeed somewhat vacant and lifeless. If in the uniformly high level of Luca's sculptures any can be said to show signs of youthful immaturity, it is this Madonna.

Although of greater beauty and free from most of these defects, yet from some slight imperfections I should place the much-disputed "Frescobaldi Madonna," now in the Berlin Museum, also at an early date. Stately as is the figure of the Virgin, with its earnestness and suggestion of *trecento* solemnity, there is the same slight awkwardness of pose, lack of complete freedom, and apparent difficulty in the management of the foreshortened parts. The attitude is that of the Madonnas of Or S. Michele and of the Bronze Doors, and of the Pazzi Apostles, but is less easy and simple than in either of those sculptures. The Child again is somewhat ill-balanced, as in the Innocenti relief.

M. Reymond does not accept this Madonna as being a genuine work of Luca, and considers it to be only an imitation of the Pazzi Apostles. His objection is based chiefly on the fact that the feet are bare, which he claims to be a later evolution in the representation of the Madonna, asserting that neither Luca nor Andrea so portrayed her. He objects, besides, that she is seated, like the Pazzi Apostles, upon clouds, which he again asserts to be antagonistic to Luca's treatment of the Madonna. Want of precedent is not of overpowering weight in such discussions, for if so, we must also reject the Madonna of Or S. Michele, because for the only time (if we refuse to accept this work) the head is bare. The proofs of authenticity are too strong to be outbalanced by such minor objections. The extreme beauty of the hands and feet, the well-composed draperies, the treatment of hair, above all the inimitable earnestness and distinction of the face, all point to its being a genuine work of Luca. Even if its slight defects force doubt upon us, we should by the process of elimination be compelled to ascribe it to him, for it has nothing whatever of the character of Andrea, and which of all the imitators was capable of executing so fine a work, and of so successfully reproducing Luca's own spirit? The "Frescobaldi Madonna" has nothing of the coldness or perfunctoriness of an imitation, and I have no hesitation in accepting it as an early work by Luca himself, and not one of the least attractive.

Closely connected with it in style and feeling is the "Madonna of the Roses" (No. 31 of the Museo Nazionale). Maturer work it appears, since there are no defects whatever in balance or modelling, and the glaze is of the utmost perfection, remarkable even among the enamels of Luca for its creamy colour and beautiful surface. To sight and to touch it seems like old ivory or polished marble. Yet the relief seems to belong to an earlier period than the Cantoria, and certainly than the Bronze Doors. The Virgin is of the same milder type as the "Frescobaldi Madonna," and has not yet



Alinari, Florence

"MADONNA OF THE ROSES"

LUCA DELLA ROBBI. MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

"MADONNA OF THE APPLE"

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE



Alinari, Florence

MADONNA DI S. PIERINO

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE

assumed the more severe bearing of the later works. These two are the most human and tender, the least impersonal of all Luca's Madonnas, as they gaze lovingly down upon the Child. In the latter relief the Child is equally human, for however symbolic may be the introduction of the apple and the roses, his action and connection with them is natural and childlike.

These three Madonnas appear to me to be the earliest existing works of Luca della Robbia, executed probably in the decade between 1420 and 1430. As has been elsewhere observed, it is most likely that to such small reliefs as these, altar-pieces for private oratories, the process of enamelling was first applied.

The "Madonna of the Apple" (No. 28 of the Museo Nazionale) appears to be of a later date, probably not far distant from the Virgin of the Impruneta Frieze, with which it has so much in common. The features of Madonna and Child in both are precisely the same, and the composition is alike in general lines. The sorrowful foreboding look of the Virgin, the far-seeing gaze of the Child are the same in both, only in the "Madonna of the Apple" he is more animated. The Child's body is modelled with a perfection equal to the *putti* of the Cantoria, the composition is massive and pyramidal, and the figures superbly balanced one with the other. The glaze has the ivory-like colour and surface of the "Madonna of the Roses." For technical perfection and imaginative beauty this relief is one of the finest of the smaller works. Signor Rossi, in his article on the Collection of the Bargello, speaks of it as having probably belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici.¹ At any rate it was, up to the year 1836, in the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Vecchio.

We come now to the two Lunettes of S. Pierino and the Via dell' Agnolo. The Madonna of S. Pierino (No. 29 of the Museo Nazionale) bears every sign of being a comparatively

¹ Rossi, "Il Museo Nazionale, Arch. Stor. dell' Arte," vi. p. 9, Note 3.

early work. It has the poetic quality, the freshness and spontaneity peculiar to youth, and nowhere are there stronger traces of Ghiberti's influence. For the first and only time we find Luca sacrificing strength to grace. The slight figure of the Virgin with her narrow shoulders and girlish build, is more the type chosen by Ghiberti than his own robuster form, though it is possible that the narrowness is due rather to the exigencies of space than personal choice. Nowhere has Luca given more buoyancy to his figures, more inspiration to his faces. The angels, with their bright, earnest expression and floating grace, are among the most beautiful of his sculptures. The Virgin with her dreamy prophetic eyes, clasps her hands around the Child, who seems about to take flight from her arms like a bird. Notwithstanding the disproportion in size of the different figures (for the Virgin's head is far too large for her slight body, the Child is enormous and the angels minute in comparison), the group has the unity of effect peculiar to Luca's work. The size of the Child is intended no doubt symbolically.

The Lunette is surrounded by a garland composed of lilies and white roses, the special flowers of the Madonna of Florence. The colour of their leaves, intertwined with those of the olive, shade exquisitely from blue to green. The garland is much injured, the two upper sections being a restoration in painted stucco, while the rest, probably disjoined during removal to the museum, are so badly connected that the fineness of the curve is lost. The present position of the relief is too low, and the figures, adapted to twice the height above the eye, lose much in consequence. It could in fact hardly be worse placed, surrounded as it is by a medley of glazed terra-cottas, whose high lights catch the eye at every turn; but its noble beauty holds its own, and with the other two Madonnas on the same wall seems even to gain distinction from contrast with the *atelier* productions with which the room is crowded.

It was executed for the chief portal of the Church of S. Piero di Buonconsiglio, called S. Pierino to distinguish it from the now destroyed S. Pier Maggiore, Luca's own parish church and burial-place. S. Pierino was razed to the ground with the Mercato Vecchio and the old buildings of the Ghetto, to make way for the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele and the surrounding streets.

Harsh criticism of the poorest of the *atelier* work is perhaps unjust, when one considers the charm even these have in their original surroundings. It is the art for country setting, for the wayside shrine and the discoloured wall, an art which needs isolation and the sobering effect of grey stone and sprouting fern. In the Tuscan lane, set deep in the moss-grown niche, with a couple of tall dark cypresses to lend it dignity, the most trifling of these polychromatic reliefs has poetry and æsthetic value. No works of art lose so much by museum arrangement, by the close packing and heterogeneous mixture which reminds one of nothing so much as a porcelain factory. Yet, witnessing year by year the gradual destruction of one of Luca's noblest, most inspired works, left in its original place, we are almost reconciled to see his splendid Madonnas wedged tightly between the poorest school productions in the Museo Nazionale.

I speak of the Lunette of the Madonna and Angels in the Via dell' Agnolo, over the door of what was formerly the Scuola de' Cherici, a dependency of S. Pier Maggiore,¹ next to the Duomo reliefs the finest of the enamelled terra-cottas.

¹ It was in Luca's time a convent of nuns, "Monastero delle Monache," or Eremita di S. Giovanni Laterani (see Baldinucci, *Notizie* v. 220). I believe I am right in saying that when the Child is clothed it signifies always that the work was executed for nuns.

The initials on the *stemma* close by (S. P. M.) on which some critics have based the early dating of the Lunette, supposing them to be those of Pope Martin V., who died in 1431, are in reality the initial letters of the Parish Church, S. Pier Maggiore, which was burnt down in the last century, and of which only part of the seventeenth century façade remains.

It is incomprehensible that while such coarse pottery as Giovanni's Tabernacle of the Via Nazionale, and indeed nearly all the Robbia works left in the streets of Florence, are rigorously protected, this *capo lavoro* of Luca himself should alone be left unheeded, hidden under the dust and cobwebs of years, broken by carelessness, and liable to the damage of any street boy who chooses to throw a stone. The charm of seeing the Lunette in its original place is completely destroyed by the dirt and dust which disfigure the beauty of the faces, and conceal the very colour of background and garland. Better than such neglect would be even the china-shop arrangement of the Bargello walls.

This Lunette of the Via dell' Agnolo must have been executed at the time of Luca's highest development. It is as classic and statuesque as the marble Cantoria. Never has he conceived forms of more radiant beauty than the Madonna, the Child, and the Angel to the left, who have the inspired glance peculiar to his best moments, the glance caught by Raffaele in his Sistine Madonna and Child. It is the expression of a soul at its widest expansion, optimistic, fearless, and serene. Of all his Virgins this is the grandest, with her splendid physique and imperial bearing. Technically also the relief is one of his best. Finely composed, the beautiful curves of the angel's wings breaking beyond the boundary of the frame give a sense of spaciousness and freedom; splendidly modelled also, the delicate strong hand of the Virgin being remarkable even among his beautiful hands; with a swing of energy and freedom in the whole sculpture which tells of complete facility and power. It is indeed a magnificent work with which to close the record of Luca's labours, though how long at the present rate of destruction its beauty will remain is a question too distressing to consider. Even within the last few years the fractures of the glaze on all the faces has robbed them of much charm, and in a few more, if the present neglect continues, they will be entirely disfigured.



Alinari, Firenze

MADONNA AND ANGELS

LUCA DELLA ROBbia. VIA DELL'AGNOLO, FLORENCE

The garland of this Lunette, like that of S. Pierino, is composed of the symbolic flowers of the Madonna, lilies and roses. The groups are even better arranged, and the separation of the mouldings (there massed all together) and the insertion between them of the garland is a great improvement in the decoration.

With this grand Madonna closes the list of Luca's genuine work. I have been unable to accept several of the reliefs attributed to him, even by so selective a critic as M. Reymond, the most important of which will be considered in the following chapter. The rejection has been forced upon me, as with the high standard of these genuine sculptures for guide, the nobility of feeling and technical perfection they exhibit, one after the other has fallen away and failed at the test.

CHAPTER IX

LOST WORKS AND WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO LUCA

THOUGH the number of Luca's sculptures remaining to us, and the infinite care and delicacy of the work itself, is a magnificent record of his energy and diligence, yet we know that they do not represent all his life's work, several important sculptures of which we have the record having been either lost or destroyed. The following list of such works may be of interest.

In 1434 he was commissioned, together with Donatello, by the authorities of S. Maria del Fiore, to model a colossal head, to be executed afterwards in bronze or marble for the decoration of the Cupola (Doc. iii.). Of this we hear nothing further, and do not certainly know if the commission was carried out.

The two angels or *putti* of gilded bronze, *due Angeli nudi*, Vasari calls them, which he made for the balustrade of the Cantoria, were still in their place in the time of Baldinucci, who mentions them.¹ It is probable that they were either laid by, or perhaps even melted down, at the destruction of the Cantoria in 1688; in the former case it is possible they may still be hidden away in some neglected cellar of the Cathedral.

In 1449 he executed a child-angel to be placed over the door of the judge's chamber in the Palazzo de' Priori, Florence.²

Antonio Billi, the Anonymo Magliabecchiano, and after

¹ Notizie, v. 218.

² See Milanese, "Prospetto Cronologico," Vasari, ii. 201. This is one of Milanese's assertions, for which doubtless he had documentary proof, but for which he unfortunately gives no authority.

them Vasari, tell us that he sculptured a tomb of marble, decorated with enamelled terra-cotta, for the infant brother of the Duke of Calabria, to be erected in Naples, but it is doubtful whether the statement can be relied upon, for it is hardly likely that a work so large and important, protected by church walls, should have so completely disappeared. Billi and the Anonymo evidently knew little and cared less about Luca's work, and Vasari presumably merely repeated their statement.¹

Most important of all the perished works must have been the decoration of the Cabinet of Cosimo de' Medici, in the Palazzo now called the Riccardi, of which also no trace remains. Vasari's description of the chamber is worth quoting. "*Piero de' Medici*" (more likely Cosimo himself) "*commissioned Luca to cover all the roof of a study built by his father Cosimo, with enamelled terra-cotta in relief, with numerous fantasies, and likewise the pavement, a rare thing and very useful for summer time (molto utile per la state). And it is certainly marvellous, the process being so difficult, and so much practice in the baking of the clay being necessary, that Luca brought the work to such perfection, that roof as well as pavement appear made, not of many pieces, but of one.*"² Vasari's tribute to that unity of composition we have constantly noticed in his work.

The decoration must have been completed before 1464, for Filarete in his "Treatise on Architecture," dedicated in that year to Piero, alludes to it in these words: "*The small highly decorated study of Cosimo,³ both pavement and roof of glazed work, done with most excellent pictures, so that every one who entered*

¹ Of this supposed work Fabriczy writes: "Of the two brothers of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, who died young, one, Cardinal Giovanni, died in 1484, the other, Carlo, in 1486, therefore Luca, who himself died in 1482, could not have been the sculptor of the monument" (Fabriczy, "Un Alto Rilievo di Luca della Robbia nel Museo Nazionale," *Arte e Storia*, Anno VII. 1888, p. 174).

² Vasari, ii. 174.

³ It was probably for Cosimo, not for Piero as Vasari states, that the decorations were executed, for Cosimo did not die till 1464, in which year as we have seen the decorations were already completed.

marvelled greatly. The artist was Luca della Robbia . . . a most excellent Master in this art as well as in sculpture," &c.¹

These are the sole records we have of the only piece of domestic architectural decoration executed by Luca, and no fragments have been discovered that might have belonged to it. I need hardly say that the twelve painted medallions representing the Months, Nos. 7632, &c., of the South Kensington Museum, are not, as has been suggested, part of this decoration. The style of drawing has no connection whatever with the Robbia, or even the Florentine School. The medallions came to the Museum with the rest of the Robbia works from the Campana Collection, and were in the Marchese's Catalogue described, probably correctly, as of Pisan origin.

There now remains the task of considering the most important of the works doubtfully attributed to Luca. To discuss all would overpass the limits of space at command in a much larger book than the present, but complete lists will be found in the Appendix, including all attributed work, and my own suggestions as to authorship. A few—the God the Father of the Museo del Duomo, the Evangelists of S. Giobbe, and the Madonna and Saints, No. 114 of the Berlin Museum, I have already given reasons for rejecting.

Before considering the works attributed to Luca's own hand attention must be given to a relief which, although it claims to be no more than a gesso cast, forms the basis on which the authenticity of many of these disputed works is built up. This is the medallion formerly belonging to Mr. Drury Fortnum, now in the Oxford Museum.² It represents the Virgin, half crouched, half seated upon clouds, with the Child in her lap eating grapes. The clouds rest on the heads of cherubs, and on either side of the Virgin an Angel bends in

¹ "Tratto d'Architettura." MS. in Magliabecchiana Collection. Libro xxv. See Vasari, ii. 174, Note 1 and 2; 458, Note 1.

² There is a repetition in terra-cotta in the Louvre, the so-called "Spitzer medallion," of smaller size.

adoration. The medallion is coloured to imitate bronze, and the haloes are gilded.¹ On the back is incised the following inscription: "FORMATO ADI 17 DI GINNAIO 1428," and within a large roughly-sketched crown again the half-illegible words, "FORM(ATO)NEL GABINETTO DI NICHOLLO IN GESSO." The work was bought in Florence by Mr. Fortnum in 1859.

The chief interest of this medallion, considered by many critics to be cast from a lost bronze by Luca himself, lies in its early date, for if it could be proved, we should have an example of earlier work than any of which we have certain record. Moreover, we should be forced to accept as genuine several terra-cotta originals, which in style, technical treatment, feeling, &c., are similar to this—the much disputed Tympanum of Berlin, the already mentioned Madonna and Saints of the same collection, the Madonna and six Angels, the Madonna and four Saints of the Louvre, &c. We should be forced in fine to lower our standard, not only of Luca's technical ability, but of his imaginative and intellectual power, for the group of works cited are distinctly trivial in sentiment as well as coarse and poor in execution. I agree most thoroughly with M. Reymond in rejecting all these works, which are so completely at variance in spirit and treatment with the authentic sculptures of Luca. The child is father to the man, and however much an artist's work may change and develop, the fundamental qualities will remain the same. That the classic sculptor of the Cantoria—the severe artist of the Bronze Doors, should have conceived the trivial scene of the Oxford medallion is incredible. The Virgin is seated, one leg awkwardly tucked under the other, on the ground, or rather cloud; her face, *more Raffaellesque than early quattrocento in type*, wears an expression aptly described by M. Reymond as "cette allure de belle fille qui fait des graces"; the huge clumsily-modelled Child munches his grapes like a street

¹ The bronze paint has been applied later over the original painting of bright colours, which may be easily seen in places.

urchin ; the insignificant angels behind bend their heads rather to keep within the curve of the Tondo than with reverence. Conceive the stately Luca composing a scene so *banale* ! Not one of his technical characteristics is visible. On the anachronisms of motive, &c., enumerated by M. Reymond I will not dwell, since they do not seem altogether convincing—the wingless angels, the Virgin being seated on clouds, the eating of the grapes, all of which he asserts to be modes of representation unknown in early fifteenth century Art ; but I agree entirely with his conclusion that the medallion has nothing whatever to do with Luca della Robbia, although close examination has convinced me that it is not, as he suggests, a modern forgery. I have no doubt however that it belongs to the early sixteenth rather than the fifteenth century. Notwithstanding the intentional imitation of certain forms of Luca and Ghiberti, it shows in essentials rather the influence of Antonio Rossellino and the school of Donatello, and I feel certain that the artist was well acquainted with the Madonnas of Raffaelle's middle period. In any case, fifteenth, sixteenth, or nineteenth century imitation, the inscription on the back would be a forgery. We know how the eclectic sculptors of the later generation combined the external characteristics of the two best known artists of the older race, Donatello and Luca della Robbia. Every museum and large private collection in Europe possesses several of these terra-cotta reliefs, painted or merely baked clay, in which it would be difficult to say whose style predominates. To this category belongs the cast of the Madonna and six Angels of the Louvre, of which several replicas exist,¹ the stucco relief of the Madonna and four Saints in the same collection, the before-mentioned Madonna and Saints of the Berlin Museum (claimed by Dr. Bode to be the original study for one of the panels of the Bronze Doors), and the small painted relief

¹ The painted terra-cotta relief of the Madonna and Angels, No. 424 of the Louvre collection, is a smaller variation of the Oxford medallion.



Graphische Gesellschaft, Berlin

MADONNA AND ANGELS

BERLIN MUSEUM



Atmari, Florence

MADONNA

ANDREA DELLA ROBIA, CAPPELLA BERTELLO, FLORENCE

of the same Museum (No. 116) where the Virgin stands as lifeless as a puppet while the Child rushes at her with the vehemence of one of Donatello's *putti*, a dissonance of movement of which Luca would never have been guilty.¹

Lastly, to this group belongs the terra-cotta Tympanum of the Madonna and Angels, No. 113 of the Berlin Museum, which is the subject of such endless disputes among the critics. Certainly whoever accepts the Fortnum medallion as being cast from an original by Luca, must also attribute to him this relief, for they have everything in common. Here we have the same huge clumsy Child (the legs in position and modelling might have been copied one from the other,) the same coarsely built forms beneath the fussy many-folded draperies of the Angels (how different to the slender limb and broad draperies of Luca!), the same trivial conception of the theme. I say nothing as to the motive of the Virgin tickling the Child's neck which stirs M. Reymond's indignation, antagonistic though it be to Luca's style, for it is to be seen in older and equally serious work—the *trecento* Madonna in the Tympanum of the little door above Luca's reliefs of the Campanile, for example. But he was incapable of treating any motive in the trivial spirit of this relief. The coarse, badly-modelled hands and heavy limbs alone would be sufficient to prevent acceptance of it as authentic, even had the spirit of Luca's

¹ Mr. Fortnum wrote in the *Athenæum*, December 18, 1892: "When sojourning in Florence 1858-59, I bought the roundel for a trifle, then in the rough from dirt and having the back covered by plaster with which it had been attached probably to some inner wall. In that state it was sent with other of my gatherings to England, and subsequently cleaned at my own house by Mr. Anderson, the able restorer then employed by South Kensington Museum. He suggested the removal of the plaster from the edge, and on detaching a portion some lines as of *sggraffito* writing were discovered," &c. Mr. Fortnum's own words as to the late character of the work are significant. "The Raffaellesque beauty of the heads, the graceful pose and action, and the purity of the sentiment . . . are particularly noteworthy considering its early date, the first month of 1428, a half century before Raffaele and ten years before Botticelli's birth, and is another instance of the advance of sculpture over the sister art." (Fortnum MSS. Catalogue.)

work been better caught. The relief was formerly in the collection of Conte Alessandri, Florence.

Among the best of the works doubtfully attributed to Luca, and bearing the closest resemblance to his style, is the Madonna of the Cappella Bertello, in the subterranean Chapel of S. Gaetano, an altarpiece only to be seen by artificial light. So close to Luca are the forms and expressions, the grave beauty of the Madonna, the inspired gaze of the Child, the finely-modelled hand, that at first sight some part of the work at least seemed to be his, possibly left unfinished and completed by Andrea after his death, for that the altarpiece is mainly by Andrea there is no question. The symbolic hands above, the cloud-flecked sky, the many-folded draperies of the Child are all characteristic of his style, while the *upward-turned* fruits in the roughly-painted frame point to a late date after Luca's activity. Closer study has however convinced me that the altarpiece is entirely the work of Andrea, executed in one of the sporadic moods when he was most swayed by the influence of Luca. The absence of the haloes is significant of this influence, one of the rare times he has omitted them.

The Madonna, formerly belonging to the Marchese Viviani della Robbia and sold by him to Prince Demidoff, offers less difficulties as to its complete rejection as a work of Luca, but more as to actual authorship. It needs but a slight acquaintance with Luca's powers of draughtsmanship to feel certain that the stiff, lifeless figure of the Virgin with its cramped arm, is not by him. The imitation of his serious expression has resulted in a look of mere sullenness. There is a Verrocchiesque feeling about the Child both in form and attitude, which suggests the idea that the relief is of a comparatively late date, it may be by Giovanni himself when working most carefully, possibly assisted by Andrea.¹

¹ Since the dispersion of the S. Donato Collection I have been unable to ascertain the whereabouts of this relief, which I know therefore only from the photograph.

The Madonna belonging to Madame André, Paris, seems, as far as can be judged from the excellent photograph published by Dr. Bode in his "Denkmäler der Renaissance Skulptur," to be closer to the spirit of Luca, although only a successful imitation like the foregoing. The artist had the Madonna of the Innocenti Gallery and the S. Pierino Lunette most in his mind in composing this relief, the buoyancy of the Child in the latter being admirably imitated.

Among the best imitations of Luca's style, which, however, the most elastic criticism could scarcely attribute to his own hand, is the small "Madonna of the Lilies" in the collection of Prince Lichtenstein, Vienna. It is a charming motive charmingly executed, the melancholy Madonna holding the Child, who stretches away from her to pluck a tall lily, and is evidently suggested by the "Madonna of the Roses." It has not the character nor the quality of Andrea's work, though it may have been executed under his direction. It would be interesting to know which of the *atelier* was capable of so reverent an imitation of Luca's style, for the relief is undoubtedly fifteenth-century work.¹

Only three, besides those already mentioned, out of the many works attributed to Luca in the Berlin Museum, deserve special notice—the large painted terra-cotta Madonna, No. 116L, which, though of great beauty, has nothing of the character of Luca's style; the coloured stucco Madonna and Cherubs in an oval frame, No. 116B, a late imitation of the Madonna of the Impruneta Frieze; and lastly the Madonna 116A, which from the thickness of modelling may perhaps be a squeeze, but if so is from an original by Andrea, when working in imitation of Luca.

This study would be prolonged to an indefinite length were we to consider even in such slight detail one quarter of the works to which the name of Luca della Robbia is affixed in

¹ There is a school replica in the possession of Mr. Holman Hunt and another polychromatic version in S. Kensington Museum (No. 477).

public museums, private collections, convents and churches. But one besides needs special mention, and that only from the strangeness of the attribution and the comparative importance of the work. I speak of the large marble group representing the Coronation of Charlemagne, No. 222 of the Museo Nazionale, attributed by Professor Schmarzow to Luca.¹ The work is evidently of the fifteenth century, and a certain massiveness of treatment certainly recalls his style. There is also a likeness in the form and ornament of the Bishop's mitre to that of the Bishop Federighi. Here the similarity ends completely. The draperies, which are specially poor, and apparently composed in imitation of *trecento* art, are totally opposed to the manner of Luca, and the whole sculpture shows signs of being the eclectic work of an inferior hand. How such an attribution ever came to be seriously entertained is strange, for it might as aptly be given to any other Master of the fifteenth century as to Luca.

The group is not without interest by reason of the very mixture of styles. It was discovered underground in the neighbourhood of the Porta Romana, and it is possible, as Fabriczy suggests, that it may originally have decorated the façade of the Duomo, and been removed to the Poggio Imperiale with the other statues now at the foot of the hill. If it were so, it would account for the obvious imitation of *trecento* style, for it may have been executed as a pendant group to some of the earlier statues.

¹ "Preussische Jahrbücher," 1888, pp. 186-197.

PART II

CHAPTER I

CHARACTERISTICS OF ANDREA'S ART

IT has been seen in studying the Impruneta figures that the work of Andrea, even when he most exactly copies the forms of Luca, is distinguishable by certain differences chiefly arising from the temperamental dissimilarity of the two men. The art of Andrea, charming as it is, is slighter and more commonplace. He cannot, except on one or two rare occasions, attain to the stateliness, the significance and breadth of Luca, and whatever stylistic resemblances there may be in his work the spirit is of a different quality—weaker, less decisive and virile. With less genius and intellectual energy than Luca, Andrea was naturally less imaginative, and his conception of narrower range. His view of life was more simple and homely, and his artistic ideals were less lofty. As the characteristic qualities of Luca's work are grandeur of conception, unity and breadth of treatment, so those of Andrea are mildness, *naïveté* of expression, and a lack of reserve at times approaching to emotionalism. His temperamental timidity and restlessness are felt, as has been seen, even when he is imitating Luca's strong and tranquil forms, and develop, as he gains more freedom of self-expression, to an almost dramatic fervour directly opposed to the serenity of Luca. In certain moods he becomes *exalté* and almost sentimental—the interpreter of Florence shaken by Savonarola's denunciations. His view of life is neither very broad nor very strong, but of infinite charm and delicacy especially in his earlier work, and of occasional nobility in that of his maturity. The earnestness, the simplicity and purity of feeling in these

makes them as delightful and satisfying as a painting by Fra Filippo.

Luca observes only the broader, more elemental qualities in humanity by which his sculptures gain the typical grandeur of the Greek statue; Andrea, on the contrary, perceives little beyond individual and incidental emotion. Thus in his treatment of his themes, he accentuates only the personal relations of the figures to each other, and absorbed in these, forgets the wider significance. This is especially noticeable in his representation of the Madonna and Child. He is interested only in the human connection of mother and infant, and usually treats the scenes, so hieratically interpreted by Luca, in the homeliest way. The High Priestess of the Incarnation becomes in his representation a young simple girl, who kneels in an ecstasy of maternal love before the child at her feet. Even in his scenes of ceremony, such as the Coronation and Assumption, she is still meek and humble, her head bent over with the weight of her honours like a flower too heavy for its stalk. The Divine Child is to Andrea generally but a helpless infant stretching his arms to his mother for protection. He lies upon the ground powerless to rise without her aid, or he sits clasping her finger or veil, or sucking his thumb in most human fashion. Andrea rarely it is true omits the halo, which Luca, stamping the Divinity on the face itself, can afford to dispense with, but lavishes them with undecorative abundance in all his scenes.

His more homely and everyday interpretation of the Church's themes is due in part, no doubt, to the progress of the secular spirit among his contemporaries, the demand for a more natural and realistic representation of life. But he was thoroughly in touch with his time, and notwithstanding his devotional spirit ignored the wider religious significance in favour of the more human personal interests.

Not but what Andrea had moments in which he nearly approached the nobility of Luca himself. Certain figures,

such as the Archangel Michael of the Vieweg Collection, the S. John of the Crucifixion, the S. Thomas of the Assumption, and the Madonna of the Annunciation, all three in the churches of La Verna, prove him to be capable of rising to a real height of genius.¹ More inspired figures than these, more beautiful in face and form have rarely been conceived. They represent the climax of his artistic career, all belonging as it seems to about the same period of his life when he was in full maturity. He appears at this time to have put forth the best of which he was capable, and to have expressed his utmost of strength and nobility, but the moment was brief, and his work shows thereafter, with a few exceptions, a steady decline from this high level.

The most marked characteristics of the spirit of Andrea's art are purity, gentleness, and a certain languor not opposed to the suggestion of emotionalism which lurks even in his most tranquil figures. These qualities are specially noticeable in his representation of the Virgin. No other artist of the Renaissance has more sympathetically embodied feminine charm and delicacy. The Madonna of Luca is of stronger fibre, and combines with her purity and tenderness, self-reliance, fearlessness, and strength. She represents a grander, more elemental type of womanhood—a type better perhaps appreciated by the Greeks than by fifteenth-century Italians. But of the specific womanly qualities that appeal to humanity at large, Andrea's Madonna is the most perfect embodiment, and hence to a great extent his popularity, a popularity which in our own day exceeds, it cannot be denied, even that of Luca himself, in his representation of the Virgin.

For children Andrea has special sympathy, and represents them with greater charm than any other artist of the Renaissance, standing alone among contemporary sculptors and painters as the special interpreter of child-life. He never

¹ With this group must be mentioned the exquisite head of the Madonna, a fragment in the possession of Miss Florence Gilbert, London (see p. 176).

fails to introduce them as cherubs into every vacant corner of his scenes, replacing the flowers of Luca by garlands of children's faces, each with its individual character, defined with a comprehension which shows infinite study and interest. His sympathy for childhood is best shown in one of his earliest independent works, the *Bambini* of the Innocenti Loggia, and perhaps the pathos and charm of infancy has never in literature or the plastic arts been so eloquently expressed. The most attractive quality of Andrea's art is his sympathetic interpretation of the gentler side of human nature.

As the temperamental qualities of Luca and Andrea are entirely unlike, it follows that in their methods of treatment there is a corresponding difference. The chief characteristics of Luca's art are, as we have seen, unity, breadth and massiveness, the sense for which qualities Andrea by nature lacked completely. While working directly under Luca's control his impressionable nature was so far dominated that he imitated his simplicity of style, and held in check his own natural tendency to elaboration and restlessness. But even in such work, probably direct copies from Luca's own drawings, executed under his eye, such as the S. Miniato *Temperance* and the Impruneta statues, the more subtle and unobvious qualities escaped him. For example, the flattening of the relief, the modelling on broad planes to which the classic feeling and the significance of Luca's sculpture are mainly due, Andrea never succeeded in acquiring. It is possible that the treatment may have been instinctive rather than conscious with Luca himself, and therefore never have been imparted by him to his pupil; but in any case it would be hard to imitate when the natural vision does not lend its aid to a broad grasp of the essentials and the elimination of the non-significant. However it may be, this technical difference in the work of Andrea is fully as marked as the spiritual weakness before noticed. His relief is never flattened, but realistically rounded, his modelling is rarely on broad planes, but minute and unselective. As a vivid illustration of the different treatment

of relief by Luca and Andrea, the Impruneta statues of S. Luke and S. Paul are invaluable.

Restlessness, emotionalism, and a certain triviality lay at the roots of Andrea's nature, and the influence of Luca finally removed, he developed a redundance and complication of composition and detail totally opposed to the severe simplicity of Luca's style. In his earlier work, such as the *Bambini* of the Innocenti Loggia, the *Vieweg Lunette* and the *Verna Annunciation*, all executed during Luca's lifetime, the main lines of the figures are simple and significant, and his tendencies show only in the elaboration of minor detail; but later the focus and significance is lost, the compositions grow ever more crowded and confused, full of accessories in which the main theme is swamped. Luca's statuesque and tranquil figures were replaced by a crowd of saints, angels, and cherubs in restless, disconnected movement; Luca's simple and structural draperies became mere crumpled masses of material. All his master's methods he gradually abandoned. His severe treatment of the hair Andrea exchanged for clustered curls, drilled Roman fashion in the centre. The plain blue background of Luca's reliefs, which suggest but do not imitate the sky, he realistically flecked with clouds; the pure, ivory-like surface of Luca's enamel he broke up with decorations of gold, and elaborate patterns and borders.

As in the case of his more commonplace conception of his theme, this restlessness and elaboration was not entirely a personal expression, but due in a great measure to his environment, for Andrea worked in an epoch which was tending rapidly towards the *baroque* exuberance of the sixteenth century. It would be less surprising had he not been trained in so severe a school as that of Luca, and had not the influence of Luca lasted till well on in middle life. As it is, the throwing up of methods so rigid and uncompromising, and the adoption of others so opposite, argues a very strong natural bias. The chief influence of his later years was the sculptor whose art was as unlike

Luca's as is easy to imagine—Andrea Verrocchio—an influence however confined to externals, for he was far from catching the energy and briskness of Verrocchio. What he imitated were just those mannerisms in the treatment of form, of draperies, of attitude, which in their lack of simplicity were directly antithetical to Luca's style. This admiration of Verrocchio he handed on to his son Giovanni, who frankly took him as his model, till by degrees his influence completely effaced that of Luca in the Robbia school.

Andrea lacked entirely that sense of unity which was Luca's greatest gift. He was not a good composer, and had none of the sculpturesque feeling for massive composition or balance. It never seemed to occur to him that there was such a thing as focus of interest, and his diffuseness mars some of his finest works. Even his simplest and most severe composition, the Annunciation of La Verna, is spoiled by the swift movement of the dove on the wind-blown clouds, which first attracts the eye, and the insertion of the trivial group of God the Father and cherubs on a different plane, in the extreme corner. His incessant introduction of these cherubs' heads in prominent relief around the principal figures, or inserted at random wherever there is a spare corner, as well as his lavish use of the halo, best illustrate his defects as a composer. These bosses and discs, disconnected and obtrusive, catch the eye at every turn, and destroy such significance as he may have been able to give to the theme.

This elaboration only reached its climax after his sons had grown up, and when the *atelier* had become more a *fabbrica* of pottery than a sculptor's studio. The larger altarpieces seem then to be the work, not of one, but of several different craftsmen, and doubtless Andrea did not himself design the heterogeneous and elaborate ornaments of frame, or even of background accessories. The decline in the artistic character of the productions I have already sketched in the opening chapter, and shall return to later when considering the work

of Giovanni and the school. It was the result of the conditions forced upon the *bottega* by a sudden and overwhelming popularity, but had Andrea been gifted with true artistic instinct and a stronger nature, such conditions would never have been permitted by him.

There is little doubt that the immense popularity which led ultimately to the downfall of the art, was due, not so much to the classic works of Luca, which appeal to the trained intellect and wider comprehension, as to the more intimate and emotional conceptions of Andrea, which go straight to the heart. It was just this human appeal the ecclesiastics of the later fifteenth century demanded of the art which was to stir the feelings left cold by the scrolls and emblems of the earlier date, and it is no wonder that when to this was added the charm of bright colour and elaborate decoration, no church or convent in Tuscany was considered complete without one or more of these altarpieces.

As regards the mechanical processes of glazing and fitting together of the sections, the early and mature works of Andrea show a care nearly as great as that of Luca, and occasionally in such works as "The Madonna of the Architects" and the chief figures in the Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child of La Verna, the glaze has the surface and colour of old ivory, and is as fine as Luca's own. In all the Verna altarpieces, on which he seems to have bestowed special attention, and which represent the best period of his more personal work, the care with which the enamel is applied and the sections are fitted together is admirable, and offers a striking contrast to some of the later work, in which the glaze has the coarseness of rough pottery and adds by its brilliant reflections to the confusion of the crowded compositions.

Although for the purposes of contrast we have to insist that Andrea inherited little of Luca's stateliness and massive grandeur, yet undoubtedly he replaced these qualities with others of much value. His place in fifteenth-century art is

a high one, especially as the interpreter of its more emotional side, and his work has as distinct and well-defined a character as that of Botticelli or Filippino Lippi. He is no mere imitator or eclectic, but might, with a little more energy and self-reliance, have thrilled the world with his sweetness like Raffaele. It may seem grudging in the face of so much spiritual beauty as he has given us, to draw comparisons with a stronger artist to his detriment. Yet since the main purpose of this study is to extricate the sculpture of Luca from his slighter work, such comparisons are necessary. The fundamental differences of master and pupil recognised, we are left free to appreciate the special beauties of his art.

We have found the chief attractions of Andrea's representation to be gentleness, daintiness, and purity of sentiment. For the expression of these qualities the glazed terra-cotta is a perfect medium. Its creamy whites and soft blues suggest all kinds of pastoral scenes—cool dairies with thick cream lying in pans, and glimpses of blue sky through the lattice, white oxen ploughing between the olives; everything that belongs to summer and clear air and peaceful moods in Tuscany. The Idylls of Theocritus are not more suggestive of true simplicity than his earlier works. The gentle language into which he translates the Bible stories accords perfectly with this idyllic quality. The Virgin bending in childish ecstasy over her babe, or gazing with delicate languor from the blue cloud-flecked sky; the Angels who hide their faces and stop their ears before the tragedy of Christ's Death; the very cherubs in the frames alternately pathetic and merry, stir the poetic and tender moods in us to sympathy. All the personages are simple, earnest, and pure. They seldom rise to very great heights, or specially impress, like Luca's, the more cosmic side of the theme upon us; but if the conception is limited, it is within its limitations perfect.

Andrea's powers as a delineator of character must not be forgotten in a criticism of his art, for it is in his few por-

trait busts that he has shown most energy and intellect. The Child's head of the Museo Nazionale, undoubtedly a portrait, and the Viterbo bust of Almadiano, show a grip of character, which, if not so subtle as Luca's in the portrait of Bishop Federighi, is at least equal to that of Verrocchio or Benedetto da Maiano. It may be said that each of his Bambini of the Innocenti Loggia is a faithful portrait, so clearly does each bear its individuality stamped in its face. His power of registering individual character is his compensation for the lack of wide and impersonal vision.

As far as actual skill and craftsmanship go, Andrea falls but little below the level of Luca who trained him. He has perfect command over his tools. His modelling of faces, of nude bodies and limbs, and particularly of hands and feet, is equal to Luca's in beauty and science. It is not in ability to execute all that he chooses that Andrea falls short; for there is nothing which his brain conceives that he cannot represent with facility. What he lacks is imagination, breadth of conception, that universal glance which strikes swiftly and surely at the significant, and passes over whatever is slight and meaningless. But the slighter moods have their place in life also and are worthy to be idealised by a noble art, and this Andrea does, with true sympathy for all that is pure and gentle in humanity.

CHAPTER II

EARLY WORKS OF ANDREA

THE chief difficulty in separating the genuine works of Andrea della Robbia from those of Giovanni and the school, lies in the fact that not only were many of his compositions copied with slight variations and repeated in moulds, but that he also allowed the collaboration of assistants in his altarpieces, not alone in the decoration and accessories usually given to assistants, but in some of the most prominent parts. Thus while the principal figures bear the most undoubted marks of being by his hand, the rest may be of very inferior workmanship. One of the most striking examples of this is the Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child of La Verna, where the Virgin and Child, of incomparable beauty of modelling and of glaze, are surrounded by figures not only of very inferior execution, but glazed with coarser and much whiter enamel. Again, in the Crucifixion in the same convent, which contains some of the noblest of his work, we find additions so discordant to its solemnity and beauty, as the grotesque human-faced sun and moon which are not even designed by himself.

In direct copies from his own works such as the Arezzo Crucifixion it would be difficult to say how much or how little of the work is by his own hand, or whether he merely superintended the execution. He seems in later life to have been rather the chief worker of the *fabbrica* than the sculptor individually interested in the work of art, adding just so many master-touches as would make the altarpiece pass muster with the commissioners. We know that in old age he became a mere *impresario*, receiving commissions and payment in his

own name for work which he obviously never touched at all, such as the Viterbo Lunettes and the Pian di Mugnone Presepio, or but merely superintended, as the Pistoja Tympanum. Such few documents as exist are therefore not infallible guides in determining his genuine work. It is impossible to classify a whole altarpiece as the work of Andrea or of his son Giovanni during the many years they overlapped, for their work is inextricably mingled together. All we can do in such cases is to attempt an extraction of those parts which bear most strikingly the characteristics of each. But the task is bewildering, and the conclusions must be necessarily somewhat hypothetical. The following results of my own attempts are offered with the utmost diffidence.

The study of the later Robbia work is comparatively untrodden ground, and it is chiefly by errors of judgment in the beginning that truth comes ultimately to light. No doubt future studies among the bewildering quantity of *atelier* productions will result in some perception of stylistic peculiarities, some familiarity with the special characteristics of each of Andrea's sons, which may make possible a classification less vague than at present, but the scope of this work is limited only to the separation of the works of Luca, Andrea, and Giovanni.

Nothing is more confusing and at the same time more interesting in the history of the Robbia family than the overlapping of its members one upon the other—the combination of the master's work with the pupil's, the independent period of each, and again the renewed combination with the next generation. Thus we have distinguished in the later work of Luca the hand of Andrea, and not twenty years after Luca's presumed cessation from activity, the style of Giovanni begins to assert itself in work nominally by Andrea, becoming itself later almost lost in the confused medley of the school productions.

The works of Andrea seem, however, susceptible of division into three groups, a division sanctioned by the few whose

dates are determined either by documentary evidence or by biographical facts. First, the early works in which the influence of Luca is apparent; second, those of his middle period, in which, though not entirely by himself, his personal style predominates—works in which we find some of his noblest figures; and lastly, the mixed productions of his later years, in which, with a few notable exceptions, his own style is gradually superseded and finally completely effaced by that of Giovanni.

Before beginning the classification it will be as well to give the few dates which are known to us by documents, or by admissible indirect evidence. The Lunette over the portal of the Prato Cathedral bears the date 1489, and is an undoubted work of Andrea, highly characteristic of his style. For the Lunette of the Opera del Duomo, Florence, representing the Madonna adored by Angels (an inferior work showing more of the execution of Giovanni than Andrea), the document of payment exists, dated also 1489. The Evangelists of S. Maria delle Carceri, Prato, date from about 1491; the decorations of the Loggia di S. Paolo, Florence, between 1490 and 1495; the Tympanum of the Pistoja Cathedral (chiefly by Giovanni), 1505. Lastly, for the work for the two Churches of Viterbo, S. Maria della Quercia and S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, he received payment 1509–1510, though nothing but the Bust of the Protonotary Almadiano is by his own hand. Besides these, we have the dates of two lost works, a Resurrection and other decorations executed in 1501 for the monks of S. Frediano, of which no trace remains, and a wooden Crucifix for which he received payment in 1491, of both of which we shall speak later. Lastly, a Presepio for the Church of S. Maria Maddalena, in the Valley of the Mugnone, collocated there in 1515, a work obviously not even designed by himself.

Inferentially we gather the approximate dates of the following works. The Bambini of the Innocenti Loggia,

1463-1466; the Archangel Michael of the late Herr Vieweg's Collection, 1475; and the Verna Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child, 1479.

Arranging in chronological order such of these works as are executed, in part at least, by Andrea, and excluding the rest, we have the following list to aid in a classification of those which are undated:—

Medallions of the Innocenti Loggia. 1463-1466.

Lunette of the Archangel Michael. Vieweg Collection.

1475.

Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child. La Verna. 1479.

Lunette of Prato Cathedral. 1489.

Lunette of the Opera del Duomo. 1489.

Evangelists of S. Maria delle Carceri. Prato. 1491?

Lunette and Portraits of the Loggia di S. Paolo. 1490-1495.

Bust of Almadiano. Viterbo. 1510.

It will be seen that the basis for a chronological study of Andrea's work is very slight, but if we except the two latter works which show a return to the earlier, more simple manner, a theory of gradual elaboration and departure from Luca's style is justified by these few authentic dates.

Thus, starting under the direct guidance of Luca, Andrea at first adheres closely to his style in all obvious points, his personal tendencies showing chiefly in the livelier, less reserved expression he gives to his figures, and in a greater minuteness of modelling and detail. (Examples: The *Temperance* of the Portuguese Chapel, S. Miniato, and the statues and *plaque* of the Impruneta work already cited.) In his first independent works, which group themselves around the Bambini of the Innocenti Loggia, he shows the impress of this influence in simplicity of composition and treatment, while allowing his interest in individual character and his sensitiveness (hardly yet to be called emotionalism) free play. (Examples: The *stemma* of the Silk-Weavers, Or S. Michele, the Palermo Madonna, the portrait of a boy, Museo Nazionale, &c.) In

his most mature and self-expressive work, of which the Archangel Michael and the Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child are the only dated examples (the latter not with certainty), the influence of Luca is still strong, although the treatment is elaborated. The elaboration grows ever more redundant, the feeling more emotional, until finally, the influence of Luca removed, it reaches a climax in such artificial work as the Carceri Evangelists and the Marble Altar of S. Maria delle Grazie, Arezzo.

Of Andrea's work in collaboration with Luca in the Churches of S. Miniato and Impruneta, enough has already been said in Part I. His first independent work of importance seems to have been the decorations of the Loggia of the Innocenti Hospital. That these medallions are undoubtedly by him we have not only the evidence of the work itself, which is convincing, but the corroboration of Vasari; and Vasari, so unreliable in his biography of Luca, is much more correct in his statements as to Andrea.

The date of this work Signor Cavallucci has fixed for us by a very reasonable deduction to be between 1463 and 1466, when therefore Andrea was nearly thirty years of age.

The main building of the Hospital was completed in 1445, for on February 5th of that year its first foundling inmate was baptized. In 1463 it was incorporated with the neighbouring Hospital of La Scala, and a consequent enlargement of the Loggia was begun. It is most probable that it was at this time the decoration of the medallions was commissioned. Later than 1466 it could not well have been, for in that year the hospital was bankrupt owing to bad administration, and so far from being in a condition to order superfluities, was obliged to sell a large part of its possessions to meet the everyday expenses. These financial difficulties continued for many years; in 1483, it is even said, many of the foundlings died for want of food. On these grounds the date of Andrea's



Altman, Florence

BAMBINO

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA, OSPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI, FLORENCE



Altman, Florence

BAMBINO

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA, OSPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI, FLORENCE



Alinari, Firenze

BAMBINO

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. OSPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI, FLORENCE



Alinari, Firenze

BAMBINO

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. OSPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI, FLORENCE

work may confidently be placed between the years 1463 and 1466.

The Loggia was built from the design of Brunellesco, but has been somewhat altered from its original state. Of the fourteen medallions which now decorate it only ten are by Andrea, the two at either end having been added by the Ginori Fabbrica in recent times.¹ They are but copies of two of Andrea's originals, the swathed Bambini of the first original medallion left of the Loggia, and the naked ones of the last to the right.

The sensitive nature of Andrea reveals itself here in all its charm. To each of these wistful little faces he has given individual character, reading into the child-mind with profound comprehension and sympathy. One is thoughtful and melancholy; another, more sturdily built, has a fund of merriment in reserve; a third is of most fragile and dainty beauty. All have the pathos of the theme—the Innocenti, waifs and strays of Humanity, cast adrift at birth on a careless world which feels no responsibility towards them, and they seem, with their outstretched arms and pleading eyes, to crave the pity of the passer-by. Never was decoration more suitable to its purpose, so eloquent, or so well calculated to stir the sympathies of the beholder.

This direct and personal appeal to the emotions, this consciousness of the spectator, strikes at once the keynote of Andrea's work, the reason of his popularity. In none of Luca's figures do we find any consciousness of the outside world. All are unconcerned except with each other, no gaze

¹ For this information I am indebted to the manager of the Fabbrica at La Doccia. Bruni publishes a print showing the Loggia as it appeared at the beginning of the present century, with the empty circles (Bruni, "*Storia dell' Ospedale*," Firenze, 1819). These Ginori Medallions are the best imitation of Robbia work known to me, but one wonders why Andrea's division of the background sections was not adhered to, which, starting from the figure, radiate directly from it, focussing it and giving an agreeable sense of life, whereas in the Ginori imitations the figure is modelled upon a section of the background which follows its shape somewhat uncouthly.

of the eye or gesture connects them with ourselves. Even these *Bambini* of Andrea, executed under the direct influence of Luca, are reserved in their expression of emotion, and indeed the pathos of the sentiment is due chiefly to this restraint.

The figures have great beauty of modelling, although we may object to the lack of broad surface, and the too great roundness of the relief, which invariably gives a certain triviality to sculpture. The colours are restrained, effective, and most harmoniously combined, especially in the medallion where the pale blue of the child's swathings lies on the deep sky-blue of the background. The space-filling again is most admirable, and without intending any reflection on the Ginori copies, is more striking by contrast with these, just the trifling reduction in the size of the figures, probably due to contraction in baking, giving them a puny look, inadequate to the space they have to fill.¹

In the same group with these medallions may be classed the *stemma* of the Arte della Seta on the south side of Or S. Michele. Though popularly ascribed to Luca, the work has too much the character of Andrea to admit any doubt as to his authorship. The individuality of the faces, their alert, half-roguish expression, goes exactly with one or two of these *Bambini* of the Innocenti, while the treatment, the minute modelling of faces and limbs and the roundness of relief is the same in both. The type of face we shall find often repeated in the cherubs of the later altarpieces. Moreover, the garland with its mechanically grouped, detached bunches, is directly opposed to Luca's manner of composing these frames, and shows the lack of rhythmic sense peculiar to Andrea, the tight little bunches, dabbed on at regular intervals, suggesting his favourite decoration of cherubs' heads, which so soon superseded the flowers and fruits of Luca. But to adduce further proof is unnecessary. Dr. Bode, MM. Müntz and

¹ In the entrance to the Hospital Arezzo is a charming school variation of one of these *bambini*, which, with its hairless head, looks like a little Chinaman.



Atanari, Florence

STEMMA OF SILK-WEAVERS

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. OR S. MICHELE, FLORENCE



Atinari, Florence

BUST OF A BOY

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE

Barbet de Jouy have years ago given their verdict in favour of Andrea, and I do not think many modern critics would now contest the attribution. The work is one of the most successful ever executed by him, and is designed with an imagination worthy of Luca himself, for the unpromising device out of which he has composed this charming and interesting group is nothing but a plain barred door.¹

From the striking resemblance of feature, arrangement of hair, and modelling, to these *putti*, we are at once led to think of the fine bust of a boy, No. 75 of the Museo Nazionale, usually called S. Giovannino. The detached curls over the child's forehead, the rounded modelling of the cheeks, the construction of skull and jaw, are identical. Without doubt the same hand produced both works, and at no distant date. The bust with its supercilious, yet childlike expression, has the individual character of a portrait. It is too personal to be merely stylistic, although we find it repeated exactly in the head of the cherub, third to the right, in the cornice of the frame of the Verna Assumption. This portrait bust executed at the beginning of his career, and the head of the Protonotary Almadiano at the end, are among his best and strongest sculptures, and make one regret that he did not turn his attention more to portraiture, for which his personal bias and sympathy for individual character especially fitted him.²

Before proceeding with the undoubted works of Andrea, executed in his full maturity, several reliefs must be considered,

¹ I should like to draw attention while on the subject, to a contemporary carving in stone where the same ingenuity in dealing with this device of the Silk Merchants has produced one of the most charming and dainty designs. On the wall of what was formerly the Tower of the Guild, in Via di Capaccio, near the Mercato Nuovo, the shield with the barred door is surrounded by a garland of oak leaves, treated with the greatest beauty, in which dancing *putti* are entwined.

² The fine terra-cotta bust of Charles VIII., No. 164 of the Museo Nazionale, was formerly attributed to Andrea, but after much study I can find no trace of his style in the work, the authorship of which is one of the mysteries of Renaissance Art. In the Collection of Prince Trivulzio, Milan, are two busts, attributed to Andrea, which have much the character of this Bargello work, one however being much inferior to the other and obviously mere school work.

which although defective and somewhat roughly modelled, yet show so much ingenuousness and spontaneity, so many of the qualities peculiar to his style—qualities inimitable by the copyist—that they may with little hesitation be attributed to his early years. These are the Madonnas, No. 10 of the Museo Nazionale, Florence; No. 116A of the Berlin Museum; the “Gavet Madonna,” now in the possession of Mr. Henry G. Marquand, New York; and the so-called “Madonna of the Cushion,” in the Museo Civico, Palermo. Of another of these presumably early works—the Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child in the Museum of Crefeld, I shall speak later, when considering the important altarpiece of the same subject in the Chiesa Maggiore, La Verna.

The first of these, the Madonna, No. 10 of the Museo Nazionale, executed for the now suppressed Convent of S. Lucia, has much in common with the *plaques* of the Impruneta frieze, but shows more strongly the personal characteristics of Andrea. The Virgin, her head (colossal for the size of the shoulders) bent over to one side, and with an expression verging closely on sentimentality, presses the Child fervently against her breast, while he, a most charming little figure clad in a shirt, gazes pathetically out at the spectator. Both M. Reymond and Professor Marquand accept this Madonna as being by Luca himself, although the latter recognises in the exaggerated tilting of the head a peculiarity of Andrea. Certainly this tilting, and the sentimental feeling it conveys, the appealing look of the Child, and a suggestion of self-consciousness and lack of reserve in both faces, are very far removed from Luca’s impersonal style. Other qualities of a more technical nature also preclude acceptance of it as his work—the large head of the Madonna, the round cheeks, the salience of the relief, the heavy projection of the shoulder and its defective modelling, not to speak of the introduction of the halo. It has only to be compared with its obvious prototypes, Luca’s *plaque* of Impruneta, and the “Madonna of the Apple,” for the difference of treatment

to become apparent. The relief has, with all its superficial resemblance, but little fundamentally in common with Luca's work. On the other hand, it has all the characteristics of Andrea—the flower-like bend of the head, as though the neck was unable to support its weight (so different to the erect head and powerful neck of Luca's Virgin), and the timidity of sentiment. It is Andrea imitating the style of Luca, but expressing unconsciously his own personal tendencies.

The Madonna, No. 116A of the Berlin Museum, has much similarity of feeling with the foregoing, though technically it is inferior. So rough indeed are both modelling and glazing, that but for its sincerity and spontaneity, the beauty of line, and the finely-shaped hands, one would be inclined to consider it a successful school imitation of Luca. It is seldom, however, that an imitation has the simplicity and artlessness of these figures, and in spite of its defects the relief seems to be by Andrea himself, when most under the influence of Luca. If it is compared, for example, with the extremely artificial, though technically superior imitation of Luca on the opposite wall, presumably a late copy in the style of the "Madonna of the Apple,"¹ its sincerity of feeling becomes more apparent. The Virgin has more of the gravity and reserve of Luca's Madonnas than is usual with Andrea, and is in this respect one of his most successful imitations of his master's style.

The Madonna formerly in the Gavet Collection, Paris, has some resemblance in type of face and in treatment to this Berlin relief. If one can judge from the photograph it may possibly be an authentic work of Andrea, though from a certain thickness of modelling it seems probable that it is rather a contemporary squeeze from an original work. That the style is certainly Andrea's is evident, but from the lack of simplicity

¹ Not numbered; lent by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. The Madonna is very upright, and has a vacant, trivial look in her eyes. The Child is very restless, in worrying contrast to the tranquillity of the Virgin. He holds an apple in one hand, and has the finger of the other in his mouth. It is attributed in the Museum catalogue to Luca.

of sentiment, as well as the character of the surrounding ornament, the niche in which it is set, &c., it must belong to a later date than the foregoing Madonna. The relief is at present in the collection of Mr. Henry C. Marquand, New York, but is, it appears, to be sold next year. There is another version in the possession of Mr. Quincy Shaw, Boston, slightly modified, as is usually the case with these replicas.

Whether the "Madonna of the Cushion," No. 76 of the Museo Nazionale, is the original of this popular and charming relief, or only one of these modified squeezes, is difficult to decide. That thickening of line and modelling by which a repetition in terra-cotta is distinguishable may in these enamelled works be equally due to the consistency of the glaze, or carelessness in its application. But I am inclined to think that the slightly varied group in the Museo Civico, Palermo, is the original, and this the repetition, by reason of the greater simplicity and spontaneity in the faces. Moreover the ingenuous style and sentiment point to the composition being early work, while the gaudy and roughly-modelled frame and bracket of the Bargello version certainly belong to the later school. In any case the group is one of Andrea's most personal and charming designs. Mother and Child are represented in the tenderest relation, for once absorbed in each other and unconscious of the spectator, she bending her face close to his, while he, with childlike action, clasps her thumb with one hand and her veil with the other and gazes lovingly into her eyes.¹

I have long hesitated whether to add to this group the Madonna of the Palazzo Communale, Stia, which has much of the same ingenuous charm. A careful comparison with the works of Andrea and of Giovanni have, however, convinced me that it is to the hand of the latter that it must be attributed—one of his most successful imitations of his father's style.

¹ In the Duomo, Arezzo, is another contemporary version of this Madonna, patched together on a modern, painted background, with other fragments, and stucco imitations of angels and cherubs.



Atinari, Florence

"MADONNA OF THE CUSHION"

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. MUSEO CIVICO, PALERMO

CHAPTER III

LA VERNA

WE have now arrived at the period which represents the climax of Andrea's artistic career, approximately to be placed between his fortieth and fiftieth years, in which he seems to have given the fullest expression to his own personal conceptions, and to have put forth the utmost of which he was capable, both in imagination and careful execution.

The most important works of this period are in the convent churches of La Verna; but before considering these, attention must be paid to one which leads up to them, the Lunette representing the Archangel Michael in the collection of the late Herr Heinrich Vieweg, Brunswick.¹ The relief was formerly over the chief entrance of the suppressed Church of S. Michele Archangelo, Faenza, and as it was collocated in the year 1475, the date of execution may be placed about that time.² It is perhaps Andrea's nearest approach to the spirit of Luca. The Archangel gazes out with that radiant far-seeing glance to be found so often in Luca's work, so rarely in that of Andrea. The great sweep of his wings follow the curve of the arch, in places a little overlapping the edge, thus giving a sense of freedom which corresponds to the fearless look. For dignity of bearing and

¹ Signor Anselmi ("Le Maioliche dei Della Robbia") originates, and M. Reymond repeats, the error that the Lunette was bought by Baron Alphonse de Rothschild.

By kind permission of Dr. Bode, I am enabled to reproduce the work from his "Denkmäler der Renaissance Sculptur Toscanas."

² See Anselmi, "Le Maioliche dei Della Robbia nella provincia di Pesaro-Urbino" (Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1895, p. 435).

nobility the figure might be by Luca himself, but the characteristic treatment of the hair and armour prove it beyond all question to be the work of Andrea. The hair is clustered in his peculiar grape-like curls, the breastplate is elaborately ornate, with lions' heads on the shoulders after the manner of Verrocchio and Leonardo. Yet with all the detail the simplicity of effect is preserved, and the attention at once centres on the beautiful face. It is rarely that Andrea has conceived a figure so inspired.

Two of the altarpieces of La Verna would seem to follow directly upon this Lunette, the Annunciation, and the Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child, both in the Chiesa Maggiore. The date of the latter would probably be about the same as the chapel for which it was executed, 1479. The Annunciation is perhaps somewhat earlier.

It would seem as though Andrea had a special devotion to the *culte* of S. Francesco. His many representations of him are among the most deeply felt of his figures, and here for the Convent of La Verna, where the memories of the saint have special significance and interest, he has put forth his utmost strength, and touched a higher point of grandeur than without these Verna works we should have judged him capable of reaching.

The Convent of La Verna rises sheer up like part of the rock itself at the foot of a lofty wedge-shaped hill, isolated with its thick vegetation of beech and pine from the surrounding desolate mountains, where hardly a blade of grass breaks the monotony of great boulders and sun-dried clay. It is the centre of a maze of precipitous paths, which, after traversing miles of rock, bare of all save juniper and pale lichen, suddenly converge in a wealth of green grass, primroses, violets, and marigolds. Here S. Francesco had his most isolated cells and praying-places, deep fissures in the rock most of them; and here in 1224, two years before his death, he received the *stigmata*, on a spot now enclosed in one of the numerous



THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. VIEWEG COLL., BRUNSWICK

(Reproduced by kind permission of Dr. Bode from "*Denkmäler der Renaissance-Sculptur, Toscanas*")

chapels erected after his death.¹ The place is alive with memories—with the actual presence of the saint; for the tradition is so direct, the faith of the monks so assured, that it seems no legend of near seven centuries ago we listen to as they recite the miracles these rocks have witnessed, but a vivid reality, actual facts of which they were the scene.

Here at the entrance of the fortress-like convent, is an oratory erected on the site where the birds rapturously welcomed the saint to his new abode. A little higher up is the Cappella degli Angeli, the first of the many chapels and churches within, which contains one of Andrea's noblest works. Above this again is the Chiesa Maggiore, the principal church of the convent, erected in 1348, when the crowd of devotees grew too great to be contained in the little chapel below. There are no less than seven works of the Robbia family in this church, of different dates and quality, ranging from one of the finest altarpieces ever executed by Andrea, to late works by Giovanni and the school. From this church a covered way leads over a deep chasm in the cliff, split as the legend says at the hour of Christ's agony, to the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Convent, the spot where S. Francesco received the Stigmata. This Oratory is the centre and climax to the Robbia student as well as the Holy of Holies of the monks, for here towering above the gorgeous altar and the sacred rock at its foot, is the colossal Crucifixion of Andrea, which, though somewhat marred by the handiwork of assistants, is yet the most impressive of all his altarpieces. Down this covered way has passed without break for over six hundred years, once at midday and once at the dead of night, the stately procession of monks to chant their office before this altarpiece which recalls so solemnly the tragedy of the death of Christ. The impressive scene is never to be forgotten. The brown-robed monks, with keen earnest faces,

¹ S. Francesco received the stigmata September 14, 1224. He died October 4, 1226.

like men of a more strenuous time, assembled, not as is so often the case, to drone out hurried and perfunctory prayers, but with absolute conviction in their faith, stately and concentrated as the priests of old must have been. Each one of these men might serve as a model for S. Augustine or S. Ambrose, each one of the boy-novices for S. Stephen or S. Laurence. How the lamp of faith which burns so dimly in most of the Italian convents has kept alive on the rock of La Verna is a mystery, which perhaps the pure high air of the Apennines and the human sympathy of the founder of the Order best explains.

"In the church and other places on the Rock of La Verna," writes Vasari, *"Andrea executed many altarpieces, which are imperishable in that solitary spot, where no painting even for a few years could endure."*¹

In the different churches and chapels of the Convent there are no less than fifteen works of the Robbia family. Go where we may, we come across some splendid altarpiece by Andrea or brightly-coloured relief of the school seen at its best in these surroundings. Even when wearied with study we wander up through the steep paths of the beechwoods to the summit of the rock which looks sheer down a thousand feet of precipice, we find in a tiny wind-blown chapel a Crucifixion by one of the *atelier*, poor as a work of art, and in a museum to be passed without comment, yet not without æsthetic value here in its rugged setting. We will take the different works in more or less chronological order, beginning with the Annunciation in the Chiesa Maggiore.

This is one of the stateliest and simplest of Andrea's compositions, the gravity and statuesque repose of the figures recalling Luca's own work. The Virgin is of special beauty among Andrea's Madonnas, and touches a deeper and more thoughtful note. Indeed the whole altarpiece is conceived with a solemnity and reserve more in the spirit of Luca than of

¹ Vasari, ii. 179.



Atinari, Florence

ANNUNCIATION

ANDREA DELLA ROBBLA. CHIESA MAGGIORE, LA VERA

Andrea, and it is little wonder that it should be generally ascribed to him. It is here and in the Brunswick Lunette that he shows his best remembrance of Luca's training. He is not imitative only—both works are in some ways extremely personal and self-expressive—but he bears in mind his responsibilities as the pupil of so great a master, and his standard is of the highest. The Virgin seated on her low stool recalls especially the Madonna of the Bronze Doors, and has the gravity of Luca. The kneeling Angel with its clustered curls is a more personal creation. The hands of both are of special beauty. Tranquil though the principal figures are, Andrea's tendency to restlessness and elaboration shows itself in certain details, the minute and mechanical treatment of the feathers in the wings, the pattern of the vase, the clustered curls, the fleecy clouds which sweep the Dove across the sky too swiftly to be in perfect accord of movement. The insignificant group of God the Father tightly surrounded by cherubs, detracts also from the balance of the composition.

The frame with its delicate bean-pattern is noticeable as being the simplest ever designed by Andrea. Only twice besides in his larger altarpieces has he omitted his favourite cherubs,¹ and we shall see how his tendency to over-decoration of the frames grew upon him with increasing years.

The glaze is of a purity and beauty equal to Luca's own—colour and surface like old ivory. The sections are joined with extreme care so that the divisions are scarcely visible, and not a piece of the moulding is carelessly modelled or glazed. The altarpiece was executed for the Niccolini family of Florence, and is presumably the earliest of the Verna works. Judging by similarity of style we shall probably not be far wrong in placing it somewhere about the same date as the Brunswick Lunette.

The next in date is evidently the Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child, of the Brizzi chapel opposite, executed probably

¹ In the Gradara and the Varramista altarpieces, both of a much later date.

at the same time as the architecture of the chapel, whose balustrade is inscribed 1479.¹ This altarpiece is remarkable for the great superiority of the principal figures over the rest, modelling and glaze being of totally different quality. The figures of the Virgin and the Child are among the most perfect of Andrea's works, the enamel is of creamy hue and most delicate surface, though even here a curious difference in tone is perceptible, that of the Virgin being paler in colour than the Child. These figures are all that is by the hand of Andrea himself; the cold, mechanical angels, the undignified figure of God the Father, as well as the cherubs, being evidently the work of assistants, though probably from his own design. The glaze of these is of a strikingly different quality, much whiter, coarser, and catching more reflections. It is easier to account for the disparity of execution than this difference of glaze. It would seem natural, that even though the subordinate figures might be left to assistants, the mechanical processes would be applied alike to all the sections, but however difficult of explanation, the fact itself is beyond dispute.

This altarpiece has the additional interest of being the original of those numerous reliefs of the Virgin kneeling before the Child which are now scattered broadcast throughout Europe—the original in so far that to it is probably due the immense popularity of the theme—though whether it be the first design of the subject by Andrea remains to be considered. My own opinion is that the rougher yet more simple and spontaneous relief presented by Herr von Beckerath to the Museum of Crefeld, is a youthful work by Andrea executed when under the direct influence of Luca, and that the Verna figures are his own later repetition² of the less careful study.

That the Crefeld relief is no school imitation of the Verna

¹ The inscription cut in the stone is as follows :—ISTAM CAPELLAM FECIT FIERI JACOBVS BRITH DE PLEBE SANCT STEPHANI A.D. MCCCCCLXXVIII.

² I have already stated that I consider the design of the Verna relief to be his own, though not the execution of the Angels, &c.

altarpiece is certain, for the following reasons. Chiefly its greater simplicity of feeling and of composition, and the fact that the angels are far more reminiscent of Luca's Impruneta Predella than of those in the Verna work. The flowing lines of the draperies, the restraint in the faces (grave, not peevish, like those of La Verna), the sharp scythe-like wings, and the absence of haloes, all point to the influence of Luca and an earlier date, as also do the freshness and ingenuous charm of the faces. The elaboration of the Verna relief has improved neither the composition nor the detail. The introduction of God the Father and the Cherubs has overcrowded the space, so delightfully free in the earlier work. The violent action of the hands disturbs the rhythm of movement; the heavy haloes, the scroll of music, the stiff draperies, the elaborate hair, are all indications of a later date. It is impossible to look from one work to the other, from the earnest unconsciousness of the Crefeld Angels to the mechanical coldness of the others; from the beauty of line in wings and draperies in the one composition to the awkward stiffness in the other; and to imagine that the more simple and beautiful work is a mere school imitation of the Verna relief. If the Crefeld work were a mere copy, it would be strange that so many of the characteristics of the original should have been omitted, the haloes, clustered hair, &c., and that the imitator should have instead returned to the treatment of Luca.¹

But no doubt the popularity which the composition obtained was due to the success of the Verna Altarpiece, for all the school repetitions are copied from this, and not one has the simplicity of feeling or treatment of the Crefeld work. One loses count of the many imitations of this Madonna adorning the Christ-Child which decorate each street and wayside

¹ Again, a certain thickening of the lines and modelling leads to the suspicion that this Crefeld relief may be, not the original work by Andrea's own hand, but a contemporary squeeze from it. In any case these remarks would hold good of the original, lost or perished.

shrine in Tuscany, and the walls of every museum and private collection in Europe. Besides the thirteen of the Museo Nazionale, Florence, collected from suppressed churches and convents (of which Nos. 3, 6, and 122 alone are worth attention), South Kensington possesses two, the Berlin Museum three; there is a good version in the Convent of the Capucini, S. Casciano; another, much restored with stucco, in the Cathedral of Arezzo. Others are in the Conservatoire, Montepulciano; in the Sacristy of S. Ansano, Fiesole; in the Cloister of S. Niccolo da Tolentino, Prato; besides innumerable repetitions by the late school. I have in my list no less than forty-seven in all. The popularity of the subject still continues, and variations are to this day turned out by the score from the establishments of Ginori and Cantagalli.¹

To return to the altarpieces of La Verna. The next in date appears to be the Madonna of the Girdle in the lower church, S. Maria degli Angeli.² Local tradition goes so far as to assign a date to this work founded upon no solid basis yet probably not wide of the mark, 1486. Here, as in the Annunciation, the entire altarpiece is obviously by Andrea himself, and there is no sign, as in the Crucifixion to be considered presently, of the collaboration in any important part of assistants. It is among his most perfect compositions in spite of overcrowding. The kneeling S. Thomas is one of his noblest figures, equal in beauty and dignity to the Brunswick S. Michael and the S. John the Evangelist in the Verna Crucifixion, which latter it resembles in every respect. The other saints are S. Gregory, S. Bonaventura (his robe painted with blue cherubs), and S. Francesco, as befits the locality. This is the first we have yet seen of Andrea's often-repeated

¹ There is a well-preserved version by the late school, surrounded by a garland with heavy fruits, and with Donatellesque additions, in the Villa di Querceto, Ponte a Mensola, belonging to the Marchese Riccardi-Strozzi.

² The local authorities affirm that the ribbon given by the Madonna is no girdle, but a measure indicating that she herself specified the site and dimensions of the church, and that the recipient is not S. Thomas, but S. John the Evangelist.



MADONNA ADORING THE CHRIST-CHILD

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIÀ. MUSEUM, CREECH

(By kind permission of Herr von Beckerath)

figures of this saint, with whose personality he seemed to have such sympathy. How many times we shall meet again this sensitive face, gentle yet ascetic, which accords so well with the spirit of the *Fioretti*. It will be noticed that he has followed the local tradition of the stigmata, representing the marks not as wounds but excrescences in the form of iron nails. The angels in this altarpiece are of great beauty, the one whose face is turned towards us being specially noticeable for that combination of gentleness and dignity characteristic of his best work of this period.

The Predella, in which is the Tabernacle for the reception of the Sacrament, is composed in evident imitation of that of the Impruneta Altarpiece. The background is of a deeper blue than the upper part, giving an agreeable sense of solidity to the supporting base. The Cherubs in the frieze above are modelled by Andrea himself, and it is interesting to find in the third from the right side one which closely resembles the portrait bust of a child in the Museo Nazionale.

The glaze of the whole altarpiece is of the utmost beauty of colour and surface, and the sections are fitted together with care so that the divisions are scarcely perceptible. The *stemmi* on either side of the Predella are those of the Bartoli family of Florence, the donors of the altarpiece.

It is worth while to compare with this fine original two versions of a later date, one executed in part by Andrea himself, the other entirely by Giovanni and assistants—the Assumption of the Collegiata, Foiano, dated 1502, and that of Santa Fiora, from its style of an equally late or even later date. In the former, although the composition is imitated from Andrea, the execution is entirely by Giovanni, the figures showing all the peculiarities of his style—his leonine head and weighty form. Specially noticeable for the latter characteristic are the two topmost angels, the downward pressure of whose body and limbs seem actually to crush the figures below.

The Santa Fiora version represents the third gradation downwards. Here there is but little trace of Andrea's form, his design in the main points only being imitated. The principal figures seem to be the handiwork of Giovanni himself, and his influence is also felt in the innovation of statuettes in the pilasters and crowded Predella scenes, but most of the execution is not sufficiently distinguished to be classified as anything but *atelier* work.¹

Of Andrea's own work at La Verna we have lastly the colossal altarpiece of the Crucifixion in the Chapel of the Stigmata. This already shows the assistance of his sons, and must evidently be placed at a somewhat later date than the foregoing. There are signs of mixed brain-work as well as handiwork, indications of that heterogeneity which later became so great a fault. The altarpiece, imposing from its colossal size, and the grandeur of some of the figures, is most unequal. The statuesque Evangelist gazing up at the dead Christ with clasped hands, deeply moved yet restrained, is as noble a figure as Andrea ever conceived. The Virgin on the other side of the Cross, while equally noble in form and gesture, is somewhat spoilt by artificiality and coldness of expression. The S. Francesco again shows Andrea at his best, as likewise do the angels surrounding the dead Christ. These are however more dramatic in gesture, the draperies more elaborate, and the movement more restless, than anything we have yet met with, and make an inharmonious contrast with the tranquil figures below. Other and perhaps stronger indications of the later date are the theatrical, almost grotesque faces, symbolising the sun and moon, which strike so discordant a note in the solemn scene, and the realistic colouring of the crucified Christ. Local tradition asserts that Andrea's own figure was broken and removed, and this added at a later date by his successors, but students will recognise

¹ The school version of the same theme, the Lunette in the Cortile of the Accademia, Florence, is a varied copy of this Santa Fiora altarpiece.



Alinari, Florence

MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIÀ. S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI, LA VERNÀ



na. Firenze

*Crucifixione
Andrea Della Robbia
Cappella Delle Stimate La Verona*

in the splendid modelling of torso and limbs the trained hand of the master. We are confronted with too many of these lapses to need further explanation for the incongruous colour than lies in Andrea's characteristic lack of the sense of unity. But for its realistic colouring the figure would be as noble as the rest. As it is, the orange-red of the hair and beard, the livid green of the flesh, the white loin-cloth, and yellow-grained wood of the Cross, set in the midst of the conventional white and blue, give it a theatrical and trivial look detrimental to its real sculpturesque value.

This is our first introduction to the double frame of cherubs' heads and garlands which achieved so much popularity and became henceforth the invariable decoration of the larger altarpieces. The abandonment of Luca's natural arrangement of flowers and fruits, and the reintroduction of the older motive of bunches tied with fluttering ribbons, growing impossibly one on the top of the other out of elaborate vases, seems to be due to the influence of Giovanni, who in all his authenticated works shows the greatest leaning towards this design. Andrea, as we know, cared little to introduce flowers or fruits in his frames, preferring his favourite cherubs' heads. The double frame which first appears in the later works and grows ever more elaborate, seems like some sort of compromise between the taste of Giovanni, who loved flowers and fruits, and of his father. It has, it must be owned, its merits as mere decoration, did it not by over-elaboration arrest the attention and detract from the significance of the scene enclosed.

The altarpiece reaches from floor to roof of the chapel, its base, hidden by the altar, being filled with tiles of all kinds of colours and patterns, some of great beauty. It was executed at the expense of the Alessandri family of Florence. From the magnitude of all its attempts in composition and dramatic effect, it represents perhaps the culminating point of Andrea's art, but like all culminating points, it allows us to see the decline

on the other side. Impressed as one must be by the nobility and dignity of the work as a whole, the realism of the central figure, the over-elaboration and want of unity in movement and design, are indications of the *décadence* to come.

A later repetition with variations suitable to its destination is now in the Chapel of the Madonna in the Cathedral of Arezzo. It was executed for the Cappella della Trinità, and the composition is less illustrative of the Crucifixion than of the Holy Trinity. The noblest figures, the Evangelist and the Virgin, are absent, and in their place kneel the special patrons of Arezzo, SS. Bernardino and Donato. The dead Christ, realistically coloured like the foregoing, is less finely modelled, and less sincere in expression, and the cherubs' heads of the surrounding frame are mostly mechanical and poor. Vasari mentions this altarpiece as being the work of Andrea; undoubtedly it must have been superintended, and in small part executed by himself. But it belongs to the latest years of the century and is evidently mostly by assistants, an infinitely inferior work to the Verna original.¹

With the Crucifixion closes the list of Andrea's personally executed works at La Verna. With such a standard before us, it is impossible to accept as by his own hand any of the figures in the large Ascension in the Cappella Ridolfi of the Chiesa Maggiore, although it is probable that it was executed from his design and under his superintendence. In details of landscape-background, and in the character of the faces, it bears the strongest evidence of Giovanni's style, and as one of his best and most careful works it will be considered in Part III. The Madonna and Saints in the same church are also by Giovanni, while the two figures of SS. Francesco and Antonio Abate on either side of the choir, feigning to be statues in niches though in reality only low relief, are mere good school

¹ In the centre of its Predella is a medallion with a charming Madonna, a variation of that in the Campo Santo, Arezzo, on either side of which kneel four cowed monks, one of whom, as the donor of the altarpiece, has his face uncovered.

work in imitation of Andrea. All are probably of a late period, dating either towards the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

What a contrast as we leave this church where all the artists are at their best, Andrea rising almost to the level of Luca and Giovanni to that of Andrea, to come upon the meretricious Pietà in the open chapel outside! This large altarpiece represents almost the lowest depths to which the *atelier* sank, both for triviality of sentiment and poor execution. It is a highly-coloured and mechanical imitation of the Pietà by Giovanni in the Museo Nazionale, Florence.

Between this last extreme of the school's decline and the fine altarpieces of Andrea several *atelier* works may be placed, the Madonna and Child in the Refectory of the Convent (known to me only through the photograph, for no woman is allowed to enter), the medallion with the Holy Lamb in the centre of the vaulting of the Chiesa Maggiore, the very late relief over the door of the Cappella delle Stimate representing S. Francesco receiving the Stigmata, and the two many-coloured works right and left of the screen which divides the Chiesa degli Angeli, interesting only as specimens of realistic treatment, and for the opacity and mixed tones, no longer clear or clean, of the glazes, a characteristic of the late school.

But one more work remains to be noticed, the Crucifix in the tiny Chapel of La Penna, on the very summit of the rock, a mile's climb from the convent. This, though of little importance as a work of art, has the interest of bearing a date, earlier than from its style would have been judged. The Crucifix is polychromatic, with much clear brownish-yellow. It is insignificant in feeling, poor in modelling, and much restored. Below it in glazed terra-cotta, evidently part of the original altarpiece, is the inscription, CAROLI ANGELARIVS ANTONIVS, 1482. Whether this refers to the date of execu-

tion, or, as seems more probable from the late character of the work, is only a record of the founder of the chapel, is uncertain.¹

There is a local and widely accepted tradition that Andrea had his furnaces and apparatus near the rock of La Verna, and the very spot is pointed out by the monks and inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. Such traditions are common in all localities where many Robbia works are collected. But agreeably as the idea may stir the imagination its likelihood is hardly probable. The different dates of the works, the fact that all were commissioned by Florentine families, above all the magnitude of the apparatus required, and the isolation and inaccessibility of these mountains, makes it most unlikely, and we may feel almost certain that like the rest of the numerous works scattered throughout the Casentino, the Verna altarpieces were all executed in the Florence *bottega*, and dragged by mules and oxen up the precipitous paths of the mountain.

¹ For such an inscription we have the precedent of the Robbia frame of flowers and cherubs, late fifteenth-century work, in the Church of S. Simone, Florence, inscribed, PELLANIMA DI GIERI RISALITI ED IACOPO SVO FIGLVOLO E DE DISCIENDENTI DI DETTO IACOPO, 1363, a date which evidently refers to the death of the said Jacopo. The work is interesting as containing a small Tabernacle of the fourteenth century, attributed to Orcagna himself, and certainly of his date, which enshrines a fifteenth-century head of a lady, attributed erroneously to Donatello. It is generally supposed that these have been later inserted in the Robbia frame, but from the inscription, and the appearance of the frame, there is no doubt that it was executed to enclose the Tabernacle and bust.



Alinari, Florence.

Madonna & Saints.

Andrea Della Robbia.

Cappella Medici, S. Croce, Florence.

CHAPTER IV

WORKS OF MIDDLE LIFE

It seemed best to diverge a little from such chronological sequence as we are able to preserve, in order to consider all the Verna works together, but from the Crucifixion, in which the hand of assistants is plainly visible, we must retrace our steps to study some smaller and quite personal altarpieces presumably of an earlier date.

The Madonna and Saints of the Cappella Medici, Santa Croce, seems from the style to be approximately of the same date as the Madonna of the Girdle and Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child of La Verna. It is one of the most charming of Andrea's Florentine works, with the sincerity and religious sentiment of a painting by Fra Angelico. These six saints, with their sensitive faces, half-ascetic, half-emotional (Andrea was a true interpreter of the Piagnone movement), are among the most precious records of the religious spirit of the epoch which Florentine art has given.

In this altarpiece, as in the Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child, Andrea has introduced the characteristic frieze of cherubs with admirable effect. The design which used as an entire frame becomes so tedious and inartistic, is charming when as here merely a decoration to the architrave, the little faces seeming to peep over the cornice from the depths of blue sky. The care bestowed on the modelling and expression of each of these cherub faces proves the altarpiece to be among the earliest in which they are introduced. Later they grew mechanical, without expression, and with scarcely any variation. Beautiful as the altarpiece is, there is a disproportion in the size of the

figures which seriously detracts from the artistic effect of the composition though it may add to its symbolic purpose. The Virgin and Child are colossal in relation to the surrounding Saints, and the face of the Madonna with all its beauty hardly accords with her stately proportions, the expression being mild almost to timidity. The least attractive part of the work is the Child, clumsy in build and commonplace notwithstanding the didactic gesture. Of the six saints, S. Francesco is as usual the most sympathetic and deeply felt. The altarpiece was executed, as its inscription records, for the Confraternity of Castel S. Giovanni, in memory of its benefactors and *operatori*.

Before leaving the Cappella Medici, on whose whitewashed walls the creamy whites and soft blues of this relief have so magical an effect, it may be as well to mention that of the other Robbia works now placed there none are worthy of much consideration. The dead Christ between two Angels in the Lunette over the entrance, if executed at all from a design by Andrea, is certainly a late imitation. I should judge it rather to be a school variation of the Christ over the door of the Monte di Pietà, a genuine and exceedingly fine work of Andrea. For the rest, the crude, polychromatic busts of saints, and the Verrocchiesque Madonna, are among the most worthless of the late school productions. In the Sacristy adjoining is a bold, but theatrical bust of Christ praying, probably by the hand of Giovanni.

The beautiful altarpiece in the Church of the Osservanza, just outside Siena, groups itself naturally with that of the Medici Chapel for simplicity of sentiment and charm, but shows a marked advance in elaboration, overcrowding, and excessive ornament. Here we have no less than fifteen figures, not counting the cherubs, packed into a very limited space. The sky is no longer a mere blue background, but flecked in every part with fleecy clouds in relief; the robes are elaborately embroidered; the haloes, wings, hair, and every available part of the decoration are picked out with gold. The frame also



Atinari, Florence

CORONATION OF VIRGIN

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIÀ. OSSERVANZA, SIENA



A. Della Robbia

NATIVITY. PREDILLA SCENE
ANDREA DELLA ROBBIÀ. OSSERVANZA, SIENA



HEAD OF MADONNA

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. COLL. OF MISS FLORENCE GILBERT, LONDON

is less simple. It contains three pictorially treated, coloured scenes in the Predella, divided by pilasters heavily painted with flowers in vases. The bean-pattern is accentuated with gold, and the architrave surmounted with an elaborate Lunette. Yet with all this excess of ornament the simplicity of feeling in the whole altarpiece is wonderfully preserved. The figures are earnest and simple, only one of them (S. Jerome) verging in any degree on sentimentality. M. Reymond justly compares the poetry and sweetness, the expression of love and feeling in the faces, to the paintings of Fra Angelico. The gentle Virgin, bending her head so meekly, yet with so much dignity; the stately S. Francesco, who lays a protecting hand on the head of S. Clare; the angels who blow their trumpets with such earnest enjoyment; the light-heartedness and childlike purity of the sentiment, make it one of the most attractive religious works of the fifteenth century. It is the spirit of the *Fioretti* interpreted in plastic form.

These are the first pictorially treated Predella reliefs we have yet seen. In the Nativity—a pastoral scene developed from the Verna Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child—we have for the first time figures on receding planes, in a landscape background. It is no longer sculpture pure and simple, but an imitation of a painted panel. Towards this Andrea has been gradually tending, with his imitation of fleecy clouds, &c., and here the pictorial treatment has developed to the frankest imitation of a painting. To what excess it leads eventually we shall see in studying the works of Giovanni and the late school. The scenes are henceforth built up, less with a view to sculpturesque effect than for the sake of illustration. The three Predella reliefs are, though rougher in modelling than the central scene, of great beauty, and probably executed by Andrea himself. How often they were imitated and repeated in moulds, especially the most popular one of the Nativity, we shall see as we proceed. That these are the original designs the comparative fineness and spontaneity of the work proves. The individual character and

fine modelling of the cherubs' heads in the arch, their likeness to the Bambini of the Innocenti, and the *putti* of the Or S. Michele *stemma*, prove them to be executed by Andrea himself, though the larger ones in the Lunette are certainly not by his hand. It is perhaps hardly necessary to point out that, as is so often the case, the upper part has been broken, and the two topmost heads restored in stucco.

Not of course of convincing evidence, yet of a certain value towards our chronology, is the fact that in 1485 the church underwent entire restoration, and it is probable, since the style of the work coincides with the date, that it was ordered by the monks on that occasion.

Almost identical in feature with this Virgin and of equal beauty of feeling and execution is the head of the Madonna in the possession of Miss Florence Gilbert, London, which, fragment though it be, is by far the most important and beautiful work of Andrea in England. It evidently formed part of an altarpiece probably representing either an Annunciation or Assumption, the expression being colder than is usual with Andrea when the Child is present. It belongs to the best period of his activity, to the same time as the Verna Annunciation, with which it has everything in common, in noble beauty, pure form and fine modelling. Indeed but for the sensitiveness of the mouth and the arrangement of the veil I should have been inclined to attribute it to Luca himself, so severe and classic is its character. The face is however too close in form and expression to the Virgins of the Verna Annunciation and of the Osservanza Coronation to admit doubt as to authorship, while the peaked fold in the centre of the veil is a peculiarity to be found in many of Andrea's Madonnas. It would be of the utmost interest to know what has become of the rest of this altarpiece which must have been one of Andrea's noblest works. The only authentic relief from which the head of the Madonna is missing is the Assumption of the Virgin in New York, to be presently considered, but there the face would be full-front



L. Lunghe. Photo.

*Statue of St. Francis.
by Andrea della Robbia in Sta. Maria degli Angeli.*

while this is evidently modelled to be looked at in semi-profile. The bend of the neck moreover would not connect with that upright, somewhat rigid body. The glaze is of the utmost beauty of surface and of delicate ivory colour like all of this date.¹

The much damaged and badly restored Assumption of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, seems from the general character of the composition to belong to the same period as this Coronation, with which what is left of the original has much in common. The heads of the Virgin, of three of the saints, and of one cherub in the Mandorla are modern, too large in size, and of the coarsest type. Four of the feet are also modern.² That the work was by Andrea himself the beauty of the remaining figure of S. Gregory and of the Cherubs proves, but in its present state, spoilt by the vulgar restorations, the altarpiece can have little attraction except for the student.

Before leaving this group in which the figure of S. Francesco takes so prominent a place, the fine terra-cotta statue of the saint in the Chapel of S. Bonaventura, S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi, must be mentioned. In this sympathetic and thoughtful work the hands are of especial beauty, delicate and strong, the typical hands of Luca and Andrea.

Andrea is the special interpreter of the ascetic spirit on its gentlest side. In all the above works we have seen with what comprehension he renders the emotional susceptibility, the enthusiasm, the timidity, which go to make up the character. These sensitive faces of S. Francesco and S. Jerome, worn with fasting, lined with thought, have yet none of the sternness and savageness of Donatello's Baptists and Magdalens, but have more in common with the tenderness of the Sieneese school.

¹ By the kindness of Miss Gilbert I have been enabled to reproduce this beautiful fragment which was discovered by her some little time since in an antiquarian shop in Florence.

² See *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. viii., No. 4, p. 6, where the altarpiece is reproduced.

From the simplicity of composition and frame one might feel inclined to add to the above group the altarpiece in the Rocca of Gradara, near Pesaro, but the artificiality and coldness of expression warn us of a new epoch in Andrea's development. The relief represents the Virgin and Child surrounded by saints. The Child has one finger in its mouth, a motive we shall find in several works of the period we are now approaching. His attitude and the construction of body, with the realistic folds of loose skin, recall Verrocchio. It is the first time this influence, which later was to take so strong a hold upon Giovanni and the school, is apparent in the works of Andrea. The gaiety and gentleness of the former work is gone, and the expression of the faces is grave and less sincere. It seems as though these dark years of Florentine history had robbed Andrea of his simple light-heartedness. In those days of awakened conscience and emotionalism it was difficult to preserve composure and gaiety. However it may be, we certainly find in his work henceforth a growing seriousness and formality. With a few notable exceptions his Virgins have lost their simplicity and his Christs their childishness. They have grown older, less innocent and unconscious. The altarpiece of Gradara forms a connecting link between the series in which S. Francesco plays so prominent a part and the more artificial works we have now to consider.

We find the same serious, not entirely sincere, look in the Madonna and Child, No. 27 of the Museo Nazionale, there attributed to Luca himself. The Tondo has all the characteristics of Andrea's work of this period, although the figures of the Virgin and Angels are more reminiscent of the forms of Luca. The Child has a finger in its mouth as in the Gradara altarpiece. The surrounding garland is arranged in the rough and mechanical way peculiar to Andrea on the rare occasions in which he introduces flowers, and would in itself be sufficient indication that the work is not by Luca.

The chronology of the above undated works is confirmed



Atinari, Florence

MADONNA AND ANGELS

ANDREA DELLA ROBBA. MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE



Atinari, Firenze

MADONNA AND SAINTS
ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. DUOMO, PRATO



Alinari, Florence

MADONNA AND ANGELS

ANDREA AND GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

by two which are dated and which bear many of the same characteristics—the Tympanum of the Prato Cathedral, and the Madonna and Angels of the Museo del Duomo, the latter chiefly executed by Giovanni.

In the former, dated 1489, we have the same motive of the Child sucking its fingers repeated. In spite of its suggestion of weariness and artificiality, it is the most beautiful of Andrea's works of this more mannered period. Whatever it may lack in simplicity of feeling is made up in grace and daintiness. The Virgin, undeniably somewhat affected in expression, with that languorous droop of the head which suggests at times the influence of Botticelli, and which later became so exaggerated, is still one of his stateliest and most attractive figures. The whole relief, cherubs and all, is by Andrea's own hand.

In the Lunette of the Museo del Duomo, executed in the same year, we have the first sign of serious decadence. The Document of payment exists, dated 12th September 1489. (Doc. xxv.) Such payments to Andrea as head of the *bottega*, for work obviously not touched nor even designed by him, allow us perfect freedom to reject this as unauthentic if the evidence of the work is itself contradictory, and in the case of this trivial and affected Lunette, I am inclined to think that little but the design is actually by himself and that the young Giovanni had most to do with the execution. The modelling of the Virgin's face and that of the Angel to the right, however, seem to be, from their superiority to the rest, at least worked upon by himself. The work is full of exaggerated sentiment; the Child is a mechanical repetition of the Bargello Medallion (reversed) and the Gradara Altarpiece. It is of the Verrocchio type, with loose rolls of fat, and stands with one hip much projected, and a finger in its mouth like most of this group.

CHAPTER V

LATER ASSISTED WORKS

NOTHING is more bewildering, in attempting a chronology of the works of Andrea, than his constant and complete changes of style especially in his later years. But for documentary confirmation, certain though indirect, it would be impossible to class together as productions of the same few years work so dissimilar as the just-mentioned Prato Tympanum, the artificial Carceri Evangelists, and the Meeting of SS. Francesco and Domenico on the Spedale di S. Paolo, which in its simplicity of feeling and treatment is a return to his earlier manner.

In all the foregoing work, excluding the Crucifixion and Madonna Adoring the Christ-Child of La Verna, and the Lunette of the Museo del Duomo, we have seen little sign of pupils' assistance even in the modelling of the cherubs' heads. In the group now to be considered we shall find, even in some of the principal parts, so much work plainly not executed by Andrea himself, that we are forced to recognise the existence of a *bottega* full of assistants and pupils. Who these were beyond his own sons, it would be mere hypothesis to suggest, but we know that one at least, Benedetto Buglioni, did not belong to his own kindred, and there is every reason to believe that other strangers also were admitted. The most influential and, except Buglioni, the only one with strongly marked characteristics, was Giovanni, who developed young and made his influence felt at a very early age. His precocity we know from the first work in which his style appears—the above-noticed Madonna and Angels and the decorations of the Madonna delle Carceri, Prato. That he early undertook important work we know



Atinari, Florence

"MADONNA OF THE ARCHITECTS"

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia, MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE

also, from the document which proves him to be the sculptor of the *Lavabo* in the Sacristy of S. Maria Novella, 1497. In all the following work his hand appears, and to his growing influence may be attributed most of the innovations in decoration and pictorial treatment.

One of the finest of the smaller works is the so-called "Madonna of the Architects," No. 74 of the Museo Nazionale. Though the early simplicity of feeling is lacking, there is in form something of a return to the severe manner of Luca, notwithstanding that the Madonna has more of the languor of Botticelli than Luca's impersonal gravity. The Child is much the same as in the foregoing group, Verrocchiesque in build, with one finger in the mouth and hip exaggeratedly projected. Both faces are rather vacant of expression. What is chiefly admirable in the relief is the beauty of the modelling and the delicate ivory-like glaze, a rare merit among the works of this date, proving that special care had been bestowed. So far all is by Andrea himself, and with all its coldness of feeling it is technically one of his best works. The clumsy ponderous frame on the other hand, with its uncouth arrangement of cherubs turned inwards, cannot even have been designed by him, and is plainly the work of Giovanni.¹ Nothing could well be more inartistic than this development of the frame. The coarsely modelled heads projecting in all directions have an almost grotesque appearance and rob the really noble figure of the Virgin of much of its dignity. Never was frame more self-assertive. In the garland of roses too, what a falling-off from the flowers of Luca! The bunches are superimposed one upon the other, and all press down on one inadequate vase, for the flowers have no upward spring of their own to counteract the real weight, as have Ghiberti's in the framework of his Gates, or Verrocchio's round the Tomb of the Medici.

¹ We find Giovanni constantly seeking to add thickness to the frame by turning the decorations, cherubs or garlands, obliquely or as here, directly inwards. Ex.: The Nativity of Bibbiena, the Last Judgment of Volterra, the Lunette over the door of S. Jacopo a Ripoli, &c. &c.

The relief was executed for the Masters in Stone and Wood, the Guild which included architects, whose symbols may be seen in the four medallions on the base.

Something of this Virgin's melancholy appears again in the Madonna of Mercy in the Church of S. Maria in Grado, Arezzo, a fine altarpiece to which it would be difficult to give a precise date, but which falls into the present group by reason of the mixed character of the work. It is mentioned by Vasari in his list of the altarpieces executed by Andrea for Arezzo. The Virgin and Child, the two Saints, and the crowd of kneeling worshippers are by Andrea himself, while the rest of the relief, including the Angels who hold the crown, is the work of assistants, the frame with its heavy fruits being highly characteristic of Giovanni. In Andrea's own work we find again a return to the style of Luca. The head of S. Peter is an almost exact copy of the medallion in the Pazzi Chapel,¹ while the S. Augustine also recalls several of those apostles. The Child on the other hand, is repeated with slight variations from Andrea's own work of the Prato Tympanum. Haloes, wings, and the robe of the Virgin have been heavily gilded, but the gold is nearly worn away.²

Hitherto it has been only in the small Predella scenes that Andrea has represented landscape and figures on receding planes. In the following works we find a steady development of the pictorial treatment, and an attempt at obtaining the effects of aerial perspective. In the Chapel of S. Giuseppe in S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi, is an altarpiece, divided into three equal parts after the manner of a painted Tryptych. In the centre division is a Coronation of the Virgin, a variation of the principal side figures in the Osservanza Altarpiece, and on either side S. Francesco receiving the stigmata on the rock of La Verna, and S. Jerome

¹ There is a third repetition of this figure in the Madonna and Saints of the Seminario, Fiesole, dated 1520, the work of Giovanni.

² The head and shoulders of God the Father in this altarpiece are modern stucco additions, the top part as usual having been broken.



Atinari, Firenze.

MADONNA OF MERCY

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia AND SCHOOL. S. MARIA IN GRADO, AREZZO



Altare, Firenze

CORONATION OF VIRGIN

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia AND SCHOOL. S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI, ASSISI

in penitence. In these two wing-scenes the landscape is treated with great effort at realism, little to the artistic advantage of the work, for the result is trivial and toy-like. In the first, S. Francesco and Frate Leone are in the foreground in a rocky landscape, which stretches back over the brow of a hill where cypresses stand out against the cloud-flecked sky. In the middle distance is a church looking like a doll's house from the lack of atmospheric effect. On the other wing the landscape scene in which S. Jerome cuts himself with a stone before the Crucifix is equally trifling. Giovanni, more painter than sculptor by instinct, by painting landscape backgrounds in pale colours upon the flat surface, gave to such scenes a certain breadth and spaciousness not without value, but for these early attempts at landscape little can be said. That they were exceedingly popular however, the number of repetitions proves. This Verna scene of S. Maria degli Angeli is, next to the Madonna in Adoration, the most often repeated of Andrea's designs, both in Predella pictures and in larger reliefs.

The entire altarpiece was copied with variations by the school for the Pieve of Santa Fiora, near Siena. The altar for which it was executed being broader, each scene had to be expanded to suit, and it is curious to see the mechanical way this is done, with no thought for preserving the focus of the compositions, which therefore, especially in the Predella reliefs, has suffered considerably.

The scene of S. Francis receiving the stigmata is repeated on a large scale in the Tabernacle of the Cappella Canigiani in the Cloister of S. Croce, a very unequal work mostly executed by assistants. The little Tabernacle itself is charmingly designed, and the bust of S. Bartholomew in the Tympanum is a fairly good imitation of the Pazzi S. John the Evangelist by Luca, while the head of the young Tobias has the simple charm of Andrea's earlier work. Only in these parts is the design of Andrea visible. The charming head of the Child is placed on a badly-modelled and ill-proportioned body with

grotesquely short legs ; the archangel is the poorest imitation of Andrea's style, while the two scenes on each side of the Tabernacle, one polychromatic and with deep background, the other mere white on blue, are as ill-balanced as is easy to conceive.

The romantic scene—I had almost said painting—S. George slaying the Dragon, in the Church of SS. Maria e Giorgio, Brancoli, near Lucca, is one of the best of the pictorial works. M. Raymond speaks of it with hesitation as a genuine work of Andrea, and feels bound to justify the attribution by noting the resemblance of the dragon to that in the Arezzo Crucifixion. But this S. George appears to me to have more of Andrea's personal work than the Crucifixion itself. There is so much of his inimitable grace and charm in the figure of the boy-knight, so much good drawing and freedom of action, as to leave no doubt in my mind that much of the relief is by his hand, though it is probable that the rather ponderous figure of the princess, as well as the landscape, are the work of Giovanni. That the horse is stiff and weakly modelled is not surprising, for it is the only instance known to me of any attempt by Andrea to represent one.¹ But against the poor anatomy and stiff action of the horse must be set the fine supple figure of its rider, which for beauty and radiance of expression recalls the Archangel Michael of the Brunswick Lunette. The decorations of the frame show again the execution of Giovanni, with whom these garlands supported by cherubs and by candelabra are favourite ornaments. The former is not an innovation among the Robbia decorations, but figures as long ago as the Peretola Tabernacle. The latter we shall find taking a prominent part in one of the most important works of this period, in all probability there also executed by Giovanni—the decorations of the Church of S. Maria delle Carceri, Prato.

¹ The relief in the Collegiata of Montevarchi representing Guido Guerra delivering the relic to the priests, in which are several horses also very weakly modelled, seems to be by Giovanni assisted by the school.



Alinari, Florence

S. GEORGE

ANDREA AND GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA. BRANCOLEI, NEAR LUCCA

This beautiful church, architecturally the child of the Pazzi Chapel, is one of the finest examples of Renaissance architecture in Tuscany. It was built by Giuliano di San Gallo, was begun in 1485 and finished in 1491,¹ and we may therefore approximately place Andrea's work some time before or about the latter date. The decorations consist of four medallions representing the four Evangelists, white figures on a blue ground surrounded by golden rays, by the hand of Andrea himself, and a frieze which runs entirely round the walls of garlands supported by candelabra and tied with fluttering ribbons, as in the base of the Brancoli Altarpiece. This frieze with the shields bearing the devices of Florence and Prato surrounded by garlands of fruits, seems to be the work of Giovanni.

Though these Evangelists were executed within so short a time of the Madonna over the Cathedral portal in the same town, the treatment has entirely changed. Nothing could be more restless and elaborate than the crumpled draperies of these figures, arranged in imitation of those in the Verrocchio group of Christ and S. Thomas, set in its niche on the walls of Or S. Michele only a few years before, a work which had so strong an influence on the Robbia *atelier*. Notwithstanding the gravity of expression and the fine modelling of these figures, their significance is half lost by the redundancy of pleats and folds and locks of hair. What a contrast to the monumental Evangelists of the Pazzi Chapel, their prototypes!

There are too many of Giovanni's characteristic mannerisms in the beautiful frieze, and especially in the garlands surrounding the *stemmi* with their ponderous and realistically coloured fruits, to admit of doubt as to his authorship, yet it is a wonderful achievement for a man but little over twenty. Its excellence confirms the idea forced upon us by all his work, that however he may have failed as a sculptor, as a broadly effective decorator he was unrivalled.

¹ Vasari, iv. 277, Note 3.

Andrea's adoption of Verrocchio's mannered way of treating draperies seems to have been but a passing whim. Only once besides are they so treated, or with anything like the same elaboration—in the Annunciation over the door of the chapel in the Cortile of the Innocenti Hospital.¹ This beautiful Lunette, in spite of the redundant draperies and want of focus in design, is yet one of the finest of the later works. The Virgin especially is of his most charming type, mild and tender, but with a dignity which recalls the Madonnas of Luca. The radiant face of the archangel again reminds us of the Brunswick Lunette. The relief seems, even to the cherubs of the frame, to be Andrea's unassisted work, a rare thing at this late period.

This Annunciation is imitated, with little variation, in the Lunette of the Nativity in the Church of S. Chiara, Borgo S. Sepolcro, a work which, though closely imitating the forms of Andrea, is chiefly executed by Giovanni.

Notwithstanding the simplicity of composition, draperies, &c., it is at this late period rather than with the earlier work that the Madonna and Saints, No. 118 of the Berlin Museum, falls naturally into place. The coldness and artificiality of the figures, even of S. Francesco, usually treated so sympathetically by Andrea, justifies this dating, as well as the highly pictorial treatment of the Predella scenes. The haloes and borders of the garments have been heavily gilded after the usual manner. It is one of the finest altarpieces of the kind, and notwithstanding the coldness, the figures of SS. Francesco and Giuliano are stately and impressive. The simplicity of the frame with its frieze of lilies and roses and its painted pilasters, is a welcome change from the heavy borders and cherubs' heads which have begun already to grow wearisome.

The figure of S. Giuliano in this altarpiece connects it with that of the Campo Santo, Arezzo, in which the same saint, with a face exactly similar, is represented. The altarpieces have other

¹ The Lunette was formerly inside the chapel.



Atinari, Firenze

S. MATTHEW

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. S. MARIA DELLE CARCERI, PRATO



Atinari, Firenze

S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. S. MARIA DELLE CARCERI, PRATO



Alinari, Firenze

S. LUKE

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. S. MARIA DELLE CARCERI, PRATO



Alinari, Firenze

S. MARK

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. S. MARIA DELLE CARCERI, PRATO



Alinari, Firenze

ANNUNCIATION.

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIÀ. OSPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI, FLORENCE.

qualities in common, the same artificiality—almost affectation, and the same oppressed gravity. The pose of S. Sebastian is weak, and the nude not modelled with the science shown by Andrea in the Verna Crucifixion, and there is more than a suggestion of Perugino in the rather sentimental figure. In both altarpieces the Predella scenes are roughly modelled and glazed, and in this of Arezzo are as badly balanced as possible, both as regards salience of relief and depth of colour.¹

¹ There is a fine variation of the figure of S. Giuliano in the Oratory of S. Maria di Buonconsiglio, Prato, one of Giovanni's best works while under the influence of his father, which will be considered in Part III.

CHAPTER VI

THE LOGGIA DI S. PAOLO—THE AREZZO MARBLE ALTAR—LAST WORKS

IN the brightly coloured decorations of the Loggia di S. Paolo, Florence, we have the first indications of the theatrical and realistic treatment which is certainly due to the influence of Giovanni in the *bottega*, an influence which was presently to completely change the character of the Robbia art, and to which Andrea himself fell a victim.

On one side of the Piazza of S. Maria Novella, scene of the chariot-races of Duke Cosimo, rises the Hospital of S. Paolo, with its Loggia designed by Brunellesco, and decorated, like its prototype of the Innocenti, with medallions in enamelled terra-cotta. The approximate period of Andrea's work is proved by indirect but convincing evidence, to be between 1490 and 1495; the date formerly accepted—1451—which is inscribed on one of the medallions, referring, not to the decorations, but to the commencement of the restoration of the hospital itself. The work of Andrea and his sons would thus follow directly on the completion of the Carceri Evangelists. The decorations of the Loggia consist of nine medallions, in seven of which are represented various saints, in the remaining two scenes of Christ healing an old man and a youth, and at either end a half Tondo in which are portrait busts. Those busts were formerly supposed to be portraits of Luca and Andrea della Robbia, but are now accepted with good reason as of the governors of the hospital, who were officiating at the time of the commencement of the restoration, and at the completion of the Loggia. Under one is the



Alinari, Florence

PORTRAITS OF ADMINISTRATOR
ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. OSPEDALE DI S. PAOLO, FLORENCE



Amari, Firenze

MEETING OF SS. FRANCESCO AND DOMENICO

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. OSPEDALE DI S. PAOLO, FLORENCE

inscription, DALL ANNO, 1451 ; under the other, ALL ANNO, 1495.¹ Beneath the Loggia, over the former entrance to the hospital, is a Lunette representing S. Domenico and S. Francesco embracing.

We owe to Signor Cavallucci the discovery of documents in the archives of the hospital which clearly prove the date of the building of the Loggia, and therefore approximately that of the Robbia decorations (Doc. xxvi.).

The original building dates from as early as 1413, but it was then without any Loggia. In 1425 bad administration had reduced the funds so low that some reform became necessary to save it from complete bankruptcy, and the Pope commissioned S. Antonino, then Archbishop of Florence, to interfere with the proprietors—the Pinzocheri family. This he did and in spite of much opposition so successfully, that by 1451 the finances were already so flourishing that they were able to enlarge the building for the reception of more patients. This is the date recorded upon the first relief to the right, below the portrait of the governor of the time. The Loggia itself however, the final touch of decoration, was not begun till 1490, as the documents recording payments to the different workmen and purveyors clearly prove ; payments for building, portorage of stone for the pillars, for trees of seasoned pine for beams and of walnut for doors ; for bricks from Impruneta, for whitewashing, wood-carving, &c. Unfortunately the records of payment for the Robbia decorations have not so far been discovered, but it is obvious that, since the Loggia itself was not begun till 1490, they must be of a subsequent date.

Misled by the inscriptions on the portrait reliefs, the decorations were formerly supposed to have been the joint production of Luca and Andrea, although Vasari expressly says

¹ Professor Marquand has discovered the interesting fact that beneath the date 1451 on the first of these reliefs is legible the inscription, PRETE BENINO ; beneath the date 1495, DE BENINI.

they were executed by Andrea. Recent criticism rightly judges that while the Lunette, the two portrait busts, and a few of the medallions, are the work of Andrea, the pictorial scenes of Christ healing the sick men, and several of the saints are by Giovanni and other assistants.

In neither the Lunette nor the portraits has Andrea enamelled the flesh but left it the natural colour of the terra-cotta, an innovation we have not before met with, but which became so common with the late school. It was the natural result of the new methods of brilliant and realistic colouring. The contrast of deep-toned garments and hair with the white-glazed flesh was discordant, and Andrea was too true an artist himself to adopt, although he allowed, the lifelike flesh-tints which are so disagreeable a feature in the works of the late school. The omission of glaze was a compromise, and not altogether an unsuccessful one, although as a consequence the modelling of the clay is somewhat hard and sharp, the technique of the artist accustomed to work with the softening process of the glazing always in view.

The Lunette is the finest and most sympathetic of Andrea's later works, a welcome return to the simplicity and earnestness of his earlier days. The figures are in very high relief, in places quite free, and project far beyond the arch of the frame. The composition is massively and sculpturally built up, with a unity and balance worthy of Luca himself. The splendid sweep of the cloak of S. Domenico, with its few folds finely indicating the form beneath, is also worthy of Luca, and so are the long-fingered delicate hands. Of special charm is the wistful face of S. Domenico, who gazes up at S. Francesco with Andrea's inimitable pathos. The relation of the figures is as of one asking, the other granting pardon, and if Signor Cavallucci's theory be correct, the scene is composed with personal intention. He suggests that it refers to the reconciliation which took place about 1458, after the financial feud, between S. Antonino and the head of the Pinzocheri, the



Alinari, Firenze

S. ELIZABETH

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. OSPEDALE DI S. PAOLO, FLORENCE



Alinari, Firenze

S. FRANCESCO

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. OSPEDALE DI S. PAOLO, FLORENCE



Atinari, Firenze

S. BONAVENTURA
GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA. OSPEDALE DI S. PAOLO, FIRENCE



Atinari, Firenze

CHRIST HEALING YOUTH
GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA. OSPEDALE DI S. PAOLO, FIRENCE



Alinari, Florence

MARBLE ALTAR

ANDREA AND GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA. S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE, AREZZO

proprietors of the hospital, the Archbishop belonging to the Dominican Order, the Pinzocheri to the Franciscan. I quote the suggestion for what it is worth, for the beseeching look on the face of S. Domenico seems hardly in character with the Archbishop's official position, and it seems more probable that the scene has no other than its obvious illustrative meaning.

The medallions of Saints and the two scenes of Christ healing the old man and the youth, are much inferior to the work of the Lunette and the Portrait heads. They show in their effective but coarse colouring and realistic treatment the growing influence of Giovanni, to whose hand the execution of several at least must be attributed. The Saints represented are Francesco, Louis of Toulouse, Antonio, Bernardino, Bonaventura, Elizabeth, and Clare. Of these the two first and the two last are the best modelled, the least mechanical and stiff, while the three central figures, SS. Antonio, Bernardino, and Bonaventura are more coarsely executed, the attitudes uneasy, and the faces heavy and vacant. These seem to be entirely the work of Giovanni and other assistants, while the superior four are designed, and more or less worked upon by Andrea himself. The pose is easy and dignified, in marked contrast to the stiffness of the others, and the modelling is also better. In the coarse colour and glaze of the entire series the growing degradation of the art is felt. The flesh is no longer left white as in the Prato Lunettes, but glazed with tints intended for flesh colour, but which have resulted in a livid green or faint purple, highly disagreeable. The Saints wear robes of bright blues and greens with haloes and other ornaments of brilliant yellow—a heavy and varied colour-scheme characteristic of Giovanni.

To Giovanni must be attributed design as well as execution of the two medallions representing Christ healing an old man and a youth.¹ In these, faulty in drawing, hasty and

¹ There is a varied repetition of Christ healing an old man in the Louvre Collection, No. 446.

mechanical though they be, is yet to be seen the germ of the bold treatment, theatrical and coarse, but with a certain breadth and effectiveness, which characterizes his work. Giovanni was still young, but little over twenty, when he executed these scenes, yet the defects in drawing and modelling must be due to carelessness rather than want of knowledge and skill, for only two years after he had completed his masterpiece, the Lavabo of S. Maria Novella, in which are nude *putti* modelled with the utmost science. But carelessness was the main fault of the Robbia *bottega* at this period. It is significant of the debased standard of Florentine taste that such crude work as many of these medallions should have been allowed to figure on one of the most important public buildings of the city. In the early part of the century, in the days of Luca and Donatello, such work would neither have been proffered by the artist nor accepted by the Commissioners. But the golden age of competition, critical selection, and patient labour was passed, and these decorations of the Loggia di S. Paolo, effective as they are, illustrate not only the decline of the Robbia art, but the *décadence* of Florentine taste.

Only once as far as we know did Andrea attempt sculpture in marble, and that, as its style shows, at a late period in his life. Two kilometres beyond the walls of Arezzo, in the picturesque Church of S. Maria delle Grazie, fronted by Benedetto da Maiano's dainty Loggia, is the elaborate Altarpiece of mixed marble and enamelled terra-cotta executed by Andrea and his assistants. The work is a proof of his limitations as a sculptor, for rarely has marble been so completely deprived of its specific qualities of massiveness and purity of surface. The design is ponderous, and at the same time trifling, a patchwork of disconnected ornament, without unity of plan or of proportion. Figures of all sizes, doll-like statuettes, large clumsy cherubs, purple porphyry and enamelled terra-cotta garlands, enclose a painting of the Madonna, by Parri di Spinello, insignificant in itself, and



Alinari, Firenze

S. BERNARDINO

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. MARBLE ALTAR, AREZZO



Altare, Firenze

PIETÀ

MARBLE ALTAR. S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE, AREZZO. ANDREA AND GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA

rendered more so by the cumbersome decoration which surrounds it. The execution is in greater part by Giovanni, and possibly to his influence also may be attributed the heterogeneous character of the design. The garland surrounding the painting is characteristic of his style, with its connecting ornament, ponderous fruits and heavy colouring. It is enclosed by another frame composed of little niches in which are four statuettes of saints, with a row of cherubs in the arch, which by following its curve finally butt their heads together at the top. In the angles of the arch are medallions with the half figure of a prophet in each. In the frieze above is another row of cherubs, and the whole is surmounted by a Lunette on the top of which are seated statues of *putti* holding vases. Beneath the altar (a recent restoration) is a *Pietà*, carved in marble. This elaboration of design is made the more confusing by the unequal sizes of the figures, huge cherubs in juxtaposition with tiny statuettes, the figures in the medallions, the Lunette and base being all of different proportions. It is evident that other assistants besides Giovanni were engaged on the altarpiece, for the insipid cherubs and prophets have the character neither of his work nor of Andrea's.

The altarpiece has been restored within recent years by Signor Castellucci, architect of the Opera del Duomo, Florence. While engaged on the work he discovered beneath the lower part remains of a painted Crucifixion by the same hand as the Madonna of Mercy above, as well as fragments of early *quattrocento* architecture, which showed plainly that these paintings had originally been enclosed in a Tabernacle of the same date. The history of this work by Parri di Spinello is known to us partly through Vasari,¹ partly by contemporary documents, and is as follows.

In 1428, when S. Bernardino of Siena came to preach at Arezzo, there existed on this spot a sacred fount and grove, held by the people as an oracle, and of very evil fame. S.

¹ See Vasari, ii. 279.

Bernardino with an eloquent sermon so inflamed the religious fervour of the crowd, that they then and there set about demolishing the ancient fount and cutting down the grove. Shortly after over the ruins a Tabernacle was erected, on which Parri di Spinello was employed to paint the Madonna protecting the Aretines, and to preserve this Tabernacle in 1499 the present church was commenced. At what date the Robbia Altar was built over this original shrine there exists no document to say, but from its style it must have been some years later, probably within the first decade of the fifteenth century.

Signor Castellucci's work consists in the removal of the wooden *gradino*, and the restoration of the ends of the garlands which had been destroyed to make way for it; the substitution of a wooden table more in keeping with the period than the eighteenth-century altar; and the erasing of the painted background of the Pietà, which was an addition made in 1858.¹

Andrea's share in actual execution is limited at the most to the four statuettes and the Dead Christ in the Pietà below. Giovanni's hand is plain in the other figures of this Pietà, in the Lunette and the surmounting *putti*. All these figures are very characteristic of his style when imitating his father. His forms and gestures he copies, but not the spirit. Compare this Virgin with Andrea's meek Madonnas, and this Child, leaning back like a young Sultan, with the pathetic infant of the Palermo Madonna whose action he imitates. The angels on either side are Giovanni's also. Their powerful jaws, coarsely-modelled cheeks and pear-shaped heads, are peculiarities we shall find in nearly all his works, peculiarities by which his faces gain their heavy pugilist-like expression.

In the Pietà, while the Christ seems to be Andrea's own work, the very inferior figures of the Virgin and Evangelist

¹ I am indebted to Signor Castellucci for the above facts and dates. The reproduction is from the altarpiece in its original state, before the restoration.



Alinari, Firenze

DETAIL OF MARBLE ALTAR

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBbia. S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE, AREZZO



CHRIST AS MAN OF SORROWS

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. MONTE DI PIETÀ, FLORENCE

have again all the characteristics of Giovanni. They do him little credit, with their huge ill-modelled hands and poorly constructed bodies, and offer a striking contrast to Andrea's finely modelled torso of the Christ.

That Andrea, however, was a little *géné* by his material is proved by comparing this marble Christ of the Arezzo Altar with the much finer and freer repetition in enamelled terracotta over the doorway of the Monte di Pietà in the Piazza of Santo Spirito, Florence, one of his finest, most scientifically modelled nude figures. The treatment of the relief is broader and flatter than usual, the muscles are splendidly suggested, and the suffering and pathos well realized, without being dramatic or exaggerated.

Certainly late in Andrea's life must be placed the Madonna in the Choir of S. Egidio. This relief, in form so simple, in feeling so cold and artificial, with its Luca-like Virgin and Verrocchiesque Child, seems to offer one of the greatest difficulties to a chronological arrangement. Dr. Bode supposes it to be one of the earliest of his works. M. Reymond, while attempting no precise dating, classes it among the late Madonnas. The strong influence of Verrocchio observable in the construction of the Child's body, as well as in the expression of both faces, the disingenuousness and absence of all feeling, point to its being among his latest works. Fine as it is in modelling and glazing, this coldness makes it one of the least attractive of Andrea's Madonnas.

As Andrea increased in years he left more and more of the principal work to Giovanni, whose personal style gained with every year greater prominence, and gradually and surely superseded that of his father. This is specially remarkable in the Madonna and Angels over the porch of the Cathedral, Pistoja, whose date is 1505. Documents of payment exist in the name of Andrea, one of them revealing that he spent nearly a month in Pistoja superintending the gilding and collocation, together with one of his sons, a boy, and a horse.

(Doc. xxxi.) Who this son was the relief bears ample evidence. Andrea probably designed, certainly superintended, and may possibly have added finishing touches to the work, but the execution is mostly by Giovanni. The pear-shaped heads, especially that of the Virgin, the powerful chins and throats, the leonine look so peculiar to his figures, the truculent expression of the Child, are all his. We have only to compare these heavily-built forms, meek in gesture but far from meek in expression, with any of Giovanni's certain work to be convinced of his authorship.

Opinion differs considerably however, as to the participation of Giovanni in this relief. M. Reymond claims it to be entirely the work of Andrea, and finds no trace of his style, while Dr. Bode affirms that the figures have completely Giovanni's character and must be almost entirely by him.¹ In this judgment, as will be gathered, I fully agree.

But if the actual execution is by Giovanni the credit of the fine grouping and space-filling rests with Andrea. The relief with the beautiful portico above it, also decorated with glazed terra-cotta, is one of the most important of the Robbia monuments in Tuscany.

There is the same conflicting evidence between the documents and the work itself in the Viterbo Lunettes, for which in 1509 Andrea received payment, yet which are clearly executed by Giovanni. There are four of these reliefs, three of which are still in their original position over the entrances of S. Maria della Quercia, a convent about a mile outside the town, and one which was executed for the Church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, but which is now removed to the Palazzo Communale.

Over the principal entrance of S. Maria della Quercia is the Lunette representing the Madonna between S. Domenico, patron of the Convent, and S. Lorenzo, patron of Viterbo.

¹ Bode, "Luca della Robbia, ed i suoi precursori in Firenze." Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1889, p. 3



Alinari, Florence

MADONNA

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIÀ. S. EGIDIO, FLORENCE

Two angels hold a crown above her head as in the Pistoja Tympanum, and behind her are branches of an oak-tree, in reference to the legend that the sacred Image of the Virgin contained in the church was found suspended to an oak. The figures have the drooped heads of Andrea, the Child stands in precisely the same attitude as in the Altarpiece of the Campo Santo, Arezzo, but the heavily-built figures and coarsely-modelled faces, the peculiar expression, ponderous yet at the same time superficially alert, are characteristic of Giovanni. The face of the Child we shall find repeated exactly in an undoubted work by the latter, the Madonna in the Church of S. Maria del Gesù, Trapani. The Virgin with her exaggerated breadth of shoulder, the Angels with their defiant mien and heavy limbs, have all the characteristics of his style, and never did even Giovanni construct forms of such elephantine weight.

Exactly the same criticism applies to the Lunettes over the side doors, one representing S. Thomas Aquinas, the other S. Peter Martyr, each with an adoring angel on either side. The angels in all these works bear the closest resemblance to those of the Pistoja Tympanum.

The fourth Lunette, formerly over the entrance to the Church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, a Madonna adored by angels, is so much injured and restored as to be almost unrecognisable even for the work of Giovanni, the heads of both Virgin and Child being entirely modern. That it was executed at least under the superintendence of Andrea, and at this same time, the document of payment preserved in the church's archives, proves: "11 October 1509. *To Andrea de' Robbia for the figures above the door sixteen ducats.*" (Doc. xxxii.)

We now come to a much more interesting work, the last probably ever executed by Andrea, and a fine example with which to close the record—the bust of the Protonotary Almadiano, also executed for the Church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, and like the above Lunette, preserved in the Palazzo Comunale.

The document just quoted goes on to state, "7 February 1510. *For the bust paid on Almadiano's account by the Chigi Bank seven ducats,*" and this bust, of all the Viterbo works, is the only one executed by Andrea himself. It is moreover one of his best sculptures, and proves that at the age of seventy-five he had lost none of his power. Andrea was a born portraitist, a sympathetic revealer of character, and the two portraits executed by him are not unworthy to rank with those of Rossellino or Benedetto da Maiano.

The bust is of unglazed terra-cotta, and the sharp modelling already observed in his S. Paolo work is very noticeable here, especially in the numerous wrinkles round the eyes—the technique of the sculptor accustomed to model with the softening process of the glaze in view. It bears name and date painted on the base—IO. BAP. ALMADIANVS. MDX. This prelate, Giovanni Almadiano, was Protonotary and Private Chaplain to Leo X.

The work has suffered much bad handling. On the suppression of the church it was removed with the other works of art to the Palazzo Communale, labelled "*Wooden Bust of no value,*" and of little value indeed it appeared, being daubed so thickly with numerous coats of oil-paint that not only the modelling, but the very material of which it was made, were concealed. Thanks to the sagacity of Signor Ettore Gentili, who recognised the hand of a Master beneath the paint, coat after coat was removed, until the original terra-cotta (for the bust had not been painted by Andrea), with the beauty and delicacy of its modelling, came to light. The discovery of the document quoted above confirmed Signor Gentili's supposition that the work was by Andrea.¹

Judging by the characteristic modelling of the face and sensitiveness of expression, we may perhaps add to the list of Andrea's genuine work the glazed half-figure of S. Lino

¹ For the above facts see Ettore Gentili, "La Chiesa de' Fiorentini a Viterbo." *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1889, p. 411.



Atinavi, Florence

BUST OF ALMADIANO

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA. MUSEO COMUNALE, VITERBO



Alinari, Florence

BUST OF S. LINO

ANDREA DELLA ROBbia. DUOMO, VOLTERRA



Alinari, Firenze

MADONNA AND ANGELS

ANDREA AND GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA, DUOMO, PISTOIA



Alinari, Firenze

MADONNA AND SAINTS

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA, S. MARIA DELLA QUERCE, NEAR VITERBO

over the side door of the cathedral, Volterra, locally attributed to Luca himself. Not only is the face well constructed and modelled, but the small figures ornamenting the cope are extremely good, especially the two Madonnas on either side of the massive brooch. The figure is much injured, but enough remains to prove it the work of a Master, and no mere *atelier* production. With these busts closes the record of Andrea's principal work, already sadly confused with that of Giovanni.¹

Of lost or perished works we have the following notices.

Among the archives of the Opera del Duomo is a document dated 23rd April 1491, recording payment to "*Andree Marci dalla Robbia*" of five florins for a crucifix constructed by him for Holy Week—" *ebdomeda S*" (anta)—with a reference to the date of commission. (Doc. xxvii. 2.) Turning back to the indicated page we find a most interesting document, which throws a new light upon Andrea as a carver in wood as well as a worker in glazed terra-cotta, and opens up a new field of possible discoveries among fifteenth-century Florentine wood-carvings. The document is dated January 24, 1490 (new reckoning, 1491, thus three months before the payments above cited), and orders the carving of a wooden crucifix, "so constructed that the limbs shall appear moveable," for exhibition to the populace every Good Friday. (Doc. xxvii. 1.) There is a third record of this work, dated 29th April 1491, the estimation of the said crucifix "completed by Andrea della Robbia." (Doc. xxvii. 3.) Of the crucifix itself I have been able to find no trace.

Signor Carlo Milanese, in his commentary on Vasari's Life

¹ I have not found it possible to accept as more than imitative work, showing more traces of Giovanni's style than Andrea's, the Assumption of Città di Castello, and several other altarpieces included by M. Reymond in his list of Andrea's works. The Tabernacle of Montepulciano, the Santa Fiora Font, the Madonna and Saints of Camaldoli, the Resurrection of the Accademia, Florence, also included by him, show so strongly the characteristics of Giovanni that I have no hesitation in classing them among his works.

of Luca della Robbia, mentions that in the courtyard of Casa Mozzi, Florence, various fragments of a Resurrection and other work were to be seen, consisting of four flying angels, four sleeping guards, and fifteen cherubs' heads. To this Signor Gaetano Milanesi adds, "*These works we believe to have been executed in 1501 and in 1518, by Andrea della Robbia for the Chapel of the Compagnia di S. Frediano, called La Bruciata, which adjoins the Church of the Monastery of San Frediano. There is also a Tondo with the Nativity of Christ and the Adoration of the Shepherds.*"¹

Of the fragments of the Resurrection no trace remains in Casa Mozzi, neither have I, after much inquiry, been able to discover their whereabouts. The Tondo of the Nativity is however to be seen in our own Collection of South Kensington, No. 7720 (see Cavallucci's List), a good school work imitating the style of Luca, but which is certainly not by Andrea himself.

Finally, in a document dated 1515—an extract from the account-book of the Hospital of S. Maria Maddalena, a dependency of S. Marco in the Valley of the Mugnone—we read of the collocation of a Presepio in the little church near the village of Pian di Mugnone, a few kilometres from Florence. The extract records that "*on the 22 of September 1515 were set up the figures of the Presepio, comprising a Virgin clothed in black and a Joseph clothed in blue, with the Child and the ass and ox upon the hay, executed by the hand of Andrea della Robbia, from alms procured and given by Frate Roberto Salviati.*" (Doc. xxxiv.)

Nothing could be more explicit than this statement. Yet the remains of the Presepio still to be seen in the church, and others in the Museum of Oxford, are as different as is possible to conceive from the style of Andrea, and so far from being executed by his own hand cannot even have been designed by him. The ox and the ass are missing, and the figures remain-

¹ Vasari, ii. 192.

ing in the church are much restored and daubed with repaint, but the Presepio can never have been more than one of the poorest school productions, of even inferior quality to that of Fra Ambrogio in the Church of S. Spirito, Siena. So much for the infallibility of documents.

It is difficult to be persuaded that Andrea really lent his name to work so poor, yet it is impossible to doubt that these modern-looking figures are the remains of the Presepio referred to in the document. The traditions of the church itself trace them back to Andrea's time, and Signor Carocci, well known for his studies on the Robbia works, assures me there is no room for doubt on the subject. He adds that only a couple of years ago, the figures were entirely concealed by draperies of stuffs and silks, a fact which explains the silence of the critics, not one of whom, while quoting the document, mentions the existence of the Presepio itself.

The fragments which have found their way to the Museum of Oxford consist of the upper parts of three figures, those of the elder and younger kings (for it would seem to have been an Adoration of the Magi not of the Shepherds), one clad in red, the other in blue, and of an angel, all painted in oils. They formed part of the collection of the late Mr. Drury Fortnum, who gives the following interesting note in his own catalogue: "Fragments of the last work executed by Andrea della Robbia, and erected in a small church in the valley of the Mugnone (S. Maria Maddalena) in 1515. It represented the Adoration of the Magi; a large group of figures painted, not enamelled. It fell from the wall, probably from an earthquake, and was broken. A portion is still there arranged as a Presepio; these and other fragments were found by me thrown aside as valueless." It appears that Mr. Fortnum saw the church being restored and these heads thrown on a builder's rubbish heap, and was allowed to take what he chose.

Perhaps it would be unfair to hold Andrea responsible for the works issued in his name from the *bottega* during these

last years. It must be remembered that at the time of this Presepio he was eighty years of age, and the Florentines who commissioned it must have been perfectly well aware that it was not "*facto per mano di Andrea*," but only issued from the establishment of which he remained the nominal head. Even this position he was sharing with his son Giovanni, who accepted payments in his own name as early as 1513.¹ Since the last decade of the fifteenth century the influence of Giovanni had been gradually superseding that of his father, and he had now attained complete ascendancy over the school. We may accept as the last production in which Andrea's own personality asserts itself, the bust of the Proto-notary Almadiano, and close the record of his labours with that fine work.

¹ The payment for the dated Altarpiece of S. Medardo, Arcevia, is to "*Maestro Giovanni di Maestro Andrea della Robbia*" (Doc. xxxiii.).

PART III

CHAPTER I

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA (BORN 1469; DIED 1529?)
—CHARACTERISTICS

IF the task of separating the work of Luca from that of Andrea and of Andrea from that of Giovanni has been a hard one, it is but trifling to the difficulty of extracting that of Giovanni from his assistants. Giovanni was the most Protean of artists and changed his style as readily as a man of fashion changes his coat. A system of study founded upon a theory of personal expression, or even upon technical peculiarities, collapses before such imitative and varying work, the impulse to which was purely external, it may almost be said commercial. Giovanni with all his talent and occasional flashes of genius, sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, and to him is chiefly due the degradation of the Robbia Art from its high level to the position of mere potter's work.

In the few productions on which he has bestowed care and thought we find him to have inherited no small share of the artistic gifts of his race, and to be possessed of much individual character and strength. More strength perhaps than Andrea, though ill-directed and dissipated. In his haste to produce he either allowed himself no time for the development of his own personality, or strove to suppress it as unproductive and superfluous. It was simpler to adopt a ready-made style already proved popular, like that of his father, of Verrocchio or Desiderio, than to cultivate the expression of personal thoughts and ideals, an experimental process with uncertain results. Giovanni therefore seems to have exploited, as long as their vogue lasted, Andrea's mannerisms and compositions, and when

at last the public grew weary of the tame and often-repeated productions, to have sought for some more popular artist to imitate. This he found in Verrocchio, whose group of Christ and S. Thomas set up in 1483 in the Tabernacle of Or S. Michele, had roused the greatest enthusiasm among artists and populace, and whose treatment and style seems to have almost revolutionised Florentine Art. Andrea himself as has been seen, in certain forms had already shown strong traces of Verrocchio's influence.

No doubt Giovanni's artistic failure—for so it must on the whole be called—was due as much to his environment as to his own lack of artistic responsibility, the result of the mercantile conditions of the *bottega* for which Andrea must be held in great measure accountable. After Luca's death in 1482, Andrea, at the zenith of his popularity and with a large family to maintain, apparently saw no better way of increasing his prosperity than by placing all his sons in the business without any consideration of their natural proclivities. This is evidenced by the very small amount of talent shown by two if not three of these sons, the authenticated productions of Luca, of Frate Ambrogio (if he really were the son of Andrea), and of Frate Mattia (who certainly was), being among the poorest of the school work. Also the complete lack in Giovanni of the sculpturesque instinct, his constantly obtruding tendency towards a pictorial treatment, lead one to suppose that had his inclination been consulted he would have chosen to be a painter rather than a sculptor. Moreover Andrea did not sufficiently impress upon his sons, as pupils, the necessity of care either in composition and modelling or in the mechanical processes. He allowed immature and perfunctory work to be given to the public in monuments as important as the Loggia di S. Paolo. How different is this lack of standard from the earlier, more conscientious days of the century! The absence of obviously tentative work is a peculiarity among the great Masters of the early fifteenth century, and in the sculptures of

Luca we may seek in vain for more than the merest suggestion of immaturity. The attainment to a certain standard was evidently required for the production to be tolerated—the failures were probably destroyed. This is the only way to account for the lack of imperfect work in the sculptures of Donatello and Ghiberti, in the paintings of Mantegna or Signorelli, for imperfect work there must have always been even with artists of the greatest genius. In the early work of Andrea himself (what we presume at least to be early work) there is science and skill and evidence of much practice. But in the training of his sons Andrea fell short of the high standard of education he had himself received from Luca, “*the gift*,” to use Luca’s own words, “*in comparison of whose value all worldly goods fall short*.” It would be unjust to Giovanni to withhold a certain measure of blame from his father, for no doubt his hasty and careless methods of work are in great part due to his early education.

Giovanni then, notwithstanding that he executed a few really admirable works, remained on the whole but a mediocre artist, content to imitate the inventions of others, and apparently doing his best to stifle any impulse of self-expression. When he was not mechanically imitating his father it was some other sculptor or even painter most in fashion, Desiderio, Verrocchio, Perugino, or Ghirlandajo. Any certain chronology of the works of such an artist or even so much certainty as we have been able to attain in grouping those of Andrea, is impossible. Where individuality is atrophied no development can be traced. All that can be done is to divide his productions into two classes, representative, not of any impulse in the artist himself, but of the external conditions of the *bottega* bent on supplying the demands of the public. In the first class we group all the imitations of Andrea, which seem to belong principally, though not entirely, to his earlier period; and in the second his realistic, brightly-coloured, and pseudo-classic works, in which, leaving the style of Andrea, he adopts that

which happens to be most popular at the moment, whether it be of Verrocchio, of Desiderio, or of antique Roman sculpture. Outside these two groups lie a few really admirable works in which his originality and talent appear in spite of systematic suppression. These sporadic hints of genius are most difficult to place. The only development that seems in any way sequent is an increasing tendency towards realistic colouring and a gradual superseding of the coloured enamels by oil-paint, but even this is not consistent, for at the very end of his life we have the busts of the Certosa, one of his most important though least pleasing works, all of which are glazed and mostly with white enamel.

It will be best, as in the study of Andrea, to jot down at the beginning such dates as are more or less certainly known, in order that some fragmentary chronology at least may guide us. I include in this list the few works already noticed in which he was the assistant of his father.¹

1489. Madonna and Angels, Opera del Duomo. White on blue. With Andrea.

1491. (?) Decorations of S. Maria delle Carceri. With Andrea.

1490-95. Medallions of Loggia di S. Paolo. Polych. With Andrea.

1497. Lavabo, S. Maria Novella. Polych. Influence of A. (Mil. Vasari, ii. 193.)

1501. Last Judgment, Volterra. Polych. Mixed influences. (Dated.)

1502. Madonna della Cintola, Foiano. White on blue. Infl. of A. (Dated.)

1505. Pistoja Tympanum. With A.

1509-10. Viterbo Lunettes. Infl. of A.

1513. Tabernacle, S. Medardo, Arcevia. Polych. Infl. of Verrocchio. (Doc. xxxiii.)

1518-20. Assumption of the Virgin, Campo Santo, Pisa. Polych. Infl. of Perugia. (Dated and Doc. xxxv.)

1520. Madonna and Saints, Seminario, Fiesole. White on blue. Infl. of A. (Dated.)

1521. S. Romolo Enthroned, Fiesole Cathedral. Polych. (Dated.)

¹ Enclosed in brackets are the references, &c., justifying the dating.

1521. Nativity, Museo Nazionale. Polych. (Dated.) In part only.

1522. Tabernacle, Via Nazionale, Florence. Polych. (Dated.)

1522. Certosa Medallions. Polych., but white predominating. Classic Influence. (Milanesi, Vasari, ii. 192.)

1525-29. Decorations of the Ospedale del Ceppo Pistoja. Polych. Infl. of Verrocchio chiefly. (Dated.)

The best of the most personal works of Giovanni are the Lavabo of S. Maria Novella, the Tabernacle of the SS. Apostoli, the Annunciation over the door of Casa Sorbi in the Borgo S. Jacopo, the statues of S. Lucia in the Church of S. Maria a Ripa, Empoli, of SS. Giuliano and Ansano in S. Maria di Buonconsiglio, Prato, and of S. Peter Martyr in S. Domenico, Arezzo; the head of a warrior in the Museo di Maioliche, Pesaro, and some of the scenes from the decorations of the Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoja. From these fine works we learn that Giovanni was an artist of considerable strength, bold and free in his treatment, and with a good if somewhat coarse and showy sense for architectural decoration.

The first of these, the Lavabo of S. Maria Novella, we know by documentary evidence to be his work, executed when he was twenty-eight years of age; the last, the decoration of the Pistoja Hospital, bears the date 1525, and was apparently left unfinished at his death. Between these early and late works the rest are scattered. Certain likenesses to the Lavabo and to Andrea's style point to the Tabernacle of the SS. Apostoli being comparatively early, while the Verrocchiesque—almost Leonardo-like, character of the Pesaro warrior indicates a later date. To place the two statues, S. Lucia and Peter Martyr, there is less clue to guide us, but this slight sketch will show that Giovanni's best works do not represent a climax, as Andrea's at La Verna, or fall within a certain period of his life. Judging Giovanni only by these, his best and least imitative works, we find him to have inherited much of the family talent. In the statues and the Pesaro warrior he shows

signs of strength, dignity, and a grip of character which might under other circumstances have made him a worthy follower of Donatello, while in the Lavabo and Tabernacle there is a beauty of design and general proportion which reminds us of Desiderio. These names are not introduced at random. In the force and energy of his character there is more affinity to that of Donatello than of his father, while it is evident from his imitations, not only of Desiderio's ornate style, but of certain motives invented by him, that he was much influenced by his work. The long hanging garland which he uses so often, and occasionally to such good effect, was adopted from Desiderio, and he several times copied exactly his Christ-Child of the S. Lorenzo Tabernacle. But of all the influences to which he submitted, that of Verrocchio was perhaps the most real and most deeply felt.

In his last work, the Frieze of the Ospedale del Ceppo, Giovanni shows a boldness and originality nearly approaching to genius, although it is the genius of the decorator rather than the sculptor, for the sculpturesque quality is completely subordinated to the decorative effect.

To return to the first group produced in direct imitation of his father. This imitation is no more the result of any real influence than are the potter's repetitions of a popular design. The bold spirit of Giovanni is as far removed as is well conceivable from the mild suavity of Andrea, and for the most part in this imitative work there is a discord, at times approaching the grotesque, between the meek attitudes and gestures of the figures and the determined, most unmeek spirit which animates them. Some of the most striking characteristics of Giovanni's type of face are its powerfully-developed jaw, thick-set neck and small cranium, which, coupled with a heavy truculent expression, give a curious pugilist-like look to the figures, and this while they adhere in the main to Andrea's forms. When they are not merely cold and expressionless, as is often the case in the most mechanical of the imitations, the

figures of Giovanni are determined and almost fierce, with a few rare exceptions such as the statues of the Annunciation in the Osservanza, Siena, and the fine Madonna of Trapani, which almost attain, if not to the gentleness, at least to much of the charm of Andrea's own work.

The second group, which is the largest, and comprises his later polychromatic altarpieces when he abandoned the style of Andrea for that of the Donatellesques and Verrocchio in particular, as well as his imitations from the antique, is more expressive of his own nature—of that boldness, ostentation, and carelessness which must surely have been the attributes of the man himself. The greater part of this work is very theatrical, and the methods as false as those of a scene-painter. Giovanni seems to have worked with his public always in view, and he was ever on the look-out for some new and showy attraction. Attention must be arrested either by brilliant colour, by glaring contrasts, by dramatic gesture, or by some inversion of previous ornament, such as the turning obliquely or upside down the cherubs' heads in the frame. He draws the line at nothing however inartistic, which may add to the showy effect. One feels that had he lived on he would have clothed his figures at last in real stuffs and spangles like those of a modern Presepio. The white glaze, by which in the imitations of Andrea a certain sculpturesque reserve had been retained, hindered the crude realism he sought to give to his scenes, and was soon abandoned for the most vivid and varied colouring, and later for oil-paint. At first the paint was applied to the flesh alone, but in the last works the entire figures were covered with pigment as in the Pietàs of S. Salvatore and of Berlin. Thus a specious realism was obtained at a minimum expense of time and money, although the realistic colouring is in fact very far from communicating life to the figures, which have for the most part the rigid appearance of waxwork. Giovanni's most life-like works are not those glazed or painted realistically.

The painting of scenes *faïence*-fashion on the flat background Giovanni had introduced with good effect into his Lavabo of S. Maria Novella, but this again he developed inartistically in his later works, which are a mixture of painting and relief recalling a modern panorama. To obtain a showy effect with the least possible labour seems to have been the principal motive of the *bottega* under his management, and as examples of the degradation to which the work sank, presumably not long after his death, may be cited the two large reliefs, Christ appearing to the Magdalen, Nos. 19 and 57 of the Museo Nazionale. It would be difficult to find among the Florentine paintings and sculptures of the early sixteenth century productions of more deplorable vulgarity. Giovanni himself was not ashamed to sign his name to work but little superior—the Nativity, No. 25 of the same Collection. Brilliant colour, violent gesture, dramatic realism, landscape setting—such were the attractions offered to the Florentine public after less than half a century from the death of Luca.

Giovanni had but little thought to unfold, little interest in his theme. His main concern was in producing florid and theatrical effects. The result is a lack of concentration in composition, a general dissipation and disconnection, most wearisome to eye and brain. The central figures in most of his works of the later group are of little more importance than the heavy garlands which surround them. It is difficult to centre the attention, for all parts of the elaborate altarpieces are equally insignificant. This lack of focus is coupled with the utmost profusion of colour and detail. It is as though he had tried to compensate by quantity for what was lacking in quality. The scenes are crowded and confused, the colours brilliant and discordant, the accessories disconnected and mechanical. The relief, salient enough in Andrea's works, is now even rounder than the natural objects represented. The law of bas-relief which forms its chief attraction, by which alone it may be said to have a *raison d'être*—its

annihilation of the third dimension and consequent emphasis of broad surface—is forgotten. Giovanni aims only at pictorial effects, and his chief failure is due to his non-comprehension of the specific qualities of either painter's or sculptor's art. The mere confusion of detail, lack of proportion and extreme salience of relief in the later works, is bewildering to the last degree, and when to these are added the reflections caught by the coarse glaze, one is almost as glad to turn the eye away from the tumult as to escape the sounds of street music.

Take as an example of not the worst among the late polychromatic group, the showy Tabernacle of the Via Nazionale, Florence. We have on the same plane figures in no less than five different scales of proportion. Rigid and trivial, they stand out like wax dolls, and the very realism of their colouring, instead of animating them, adds to their artificial, lifeless appearance. It would be difficult to condemn sufficiently the inartistic design of the frame, with the huge, prominent heads projecting from disjointed scraps of garlands, which crush their weight down upon the tiny statuettes below. It is a most thoughtless imitation of the ornament of Ghiberti's bronze doors, where the projecting heads are calculated with the utmost science to enclose and add to the depth of inward space the artist desired to obtain for his reliefs.

Giovanni returns to the garlands of fruits and flowers which Andrea had more or less abandoned for the cherubs' heads, and it was probably owing to his influence that the garland frame was added to these in the large altarpieces of Andrea's later period. Giovanni's treatment of foliage, fruits, and flowers is ponderous and coarse, his arrangement in direct contrast to the flat relief and flowing quality of Luca's frames. They are effective it is true, especially round the *stemmi*, but far too obtrusive and heavy where the interest of the relief they enclose should not be disturbed. They are at their best when hanging in long, thick ropes on either side—a form of decoration which he

adopted from Desiderio, the finest examples of which are over the Lavabo of S. Maria Novella and the Tabernacle of the SS. Apostoli. But in these, as in the frames, the fruits are too heavy, the relief too high and bossy, the colours too bright. His favourite arrangement, the detached bunches tied with ribbons, growing from an ornate vase, and superimposed one upon the other, is disagreeable in effect, because he has not, like the older sculptors with whom the motive is so common, counteracted the weight of the bunches by the upward spring and push of the fruits and flowers themselves. Still more disagreeable is it when the garlands are composed entirely of heavy fruits all pointing upwards, their bulk and weight made more obtrusive by the unnatural inversion. By their roundness of relief and brilliant colouring Giovanni's fruits seem even weightier than in nature, and such violation of the laws of gravitation gives a most unpleasant feeling of fatigue. Flowers and fir-cones may be turned upwards as in nature, but with heavy fruits, citrons and cucumbers, &c., which naturally hang downwards, the arrangement is only admissible when counteracted, as it instinctively is by the greatest artists, with extra life and spring in the fruits themselves.

But enough of general criticism. The characteristics of Giovanni, good and bad, will reveal themselves in the detailed study of his works. Strong, bold and hasty, thoroughly self-satisfied, yet ready to sink his own personality and adapt his work to the current taste, he was of the stuff out of which successful merchants are made, but rarely or never great artists. And a successful merchant there is every reason to believe he was, judging by the profusion of the works turned out by him and his assistants during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when he succeeded to the management of the Robbia *bottega*.

It would be interesting to have some personal record of Giovanni, some portrait or biographical touch by which the idea of him obtained through his work should be confirmed.

The portrait of Luca published by Vasari, imaginary though it be, accords well enough with the character of his work, showing a nature strong, noble and reserved.¹ That of Andrea, painted by Andrea del Sarto, in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata (if we may rely for once upon Vasari), shows also just the sensitive gentle face we should have imagined. The portrait of Giovanni we must construct for ourselves without even the doubtful aid of Vasari, and it takes the shape—an extract and average of his own figures—of a man thick-set, swarthy, and truculent in appearance, bold and capable in character—a kind of Benvenuto Cellini, but with less artistic aims.

¹ See p. 31, Note 1.

CHAPTER II

WORKS IMITATIVE OF ANDREA

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA was the third son of Andrea, and was born in 1469. Of his private life we are in even completer ignorance than that of his father and grand-uncle. From the evidence of his influence in the later school works we gather that he early superseded Andrea as actual, though not nominal, chief and manager of the Robbia *bottega*. The first sign of his independent work we have already noticed in considering the Medallions of the Loggia di S. Paolo. These must serve as the point of departure for the study of his Art, for although no documentary proof exists that they were executed by him, the evidence of the work itself is too strong to admit of doubt.

Very different to these Medallions, with their meretricious effect and poor modelling, is the Lavabo in the Sacristy of S. Maria Novella, a work of great beauty both of design and detail, executed in 1497. It was formerly attributed by the general public to Luca himself and by the experts to Andrea, and the discovery of the document,¹ proving it to be by the hitherto scarcely recognised Giovanni, completely revolutionised previous judgment as to his artistic capabilities, founded on such works as the Tabernacle of the Via Nazionale and the signed Nativity of the Bargello. Many other works hitherto ascribed to Andrea had to be handed over with this Lavabo to Giovanni, and a higher standard of his powers to be recognised.

¹ “ *Questa lavamani fu fatto nel 1497 da Giovanni della Robbia, come apparisce da un libro d' Entrata e Uscita della Sagrestia di S. Maria Novella, ad annum, conservato nell' Archivio di Stato in Firenze* ” (Vasari, ii. 193. Commentario di Signor Gaetano Milanesi).



Alinari, Florence

LAVABO

GIOVANNI DEL A ROBBIÀ. S. MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE

The composition is both original and charming. It breaks away from all former precedent of the Robbia work, and introduces as the centre of interest a painting upon the flat surface as in *faïence*. It follows the style of Desiderio and the Donatellesques in the surmounting *putti* and the long hanging garland. The Lunette with its Madonna and Angels is a close imitation of that in the Museo del Duomo, but the figures are brighter in feeling and less sentimental. The heavily built *putti* who support the garland, with their thick limbs and stolid air, are very characteristic of Giovanni, as also are the upturned fruits around the tympanum, and the frieze of garlands supported by candelabra which we have already seen decorating the Church of the Carceri, Prato.

Taken as a whole, for originality and beauty of proportion, the Lavabo must be placed among the finest decorative works in Florence, with its beautiful curves of tympanum and arch, its delicate ornament, and bright yet harmonious colour. Perhaps the chief attraction of the work lies in its suitability to its purpose, and the charming fancy of the painted background above the Font. To this water-scene the attention is skilfully directed as the central point of interest, and it is in this painting that the originality and imagination of Giovanni are chiefly shown. It represents a wide river rolling towards us from a distant seascape, coloured pale blue and purple, in which is set a little island town. It seems as though flowing against the barrier of the marble parapet, ready to dash into the Font an inexhaustible supply of water. The scene is so well rendered, the aerial perspective so good, that we might imagine ourselves standing at an open window, looking towards the far-away lagoon. Such charming fancy allows us to judge of Giovanni's possibilities had he spared himself time for the free play of imagination; and from the excellence of the painting itself we can conjecture his probable success had he received a painter's instead of a sculptor's training. That he could be at least a correct and pleasing sculptor also is proved by the

fine modelling of the two standing *putti* who support the garland.¹

With this Lavabo of S. Maria Novella the Tabernacle of the SS. Apostoli has much in common. Here we have the same feeling for architectural *ensemble* and much of the same elegance of proportion. The details however are coarsened and exaggerated. The garland is heavier in relation to the size of the composition, and so are the *putti* and surmounting ornament. The design is less original, more imitative of Andrea, with the conventional cherubs and angels. These angels well illustrate the peculiar heavy quality of Giovanni's work contrasted with the dainty grace of Andrea's. While copying minutely his father's forms even to the type of feature and treatment of hair, the build of body and expression of the faces, above all the heavy loose-jointed limbs, are as different from Andrea's as possible. The robust figures have the physical development of a pugilist. The face of the one to the right is especially characteristic of Giovanni and already suggests the small cranium and powerful jaw which grew so exaggerated. Giovanni's angels have none of the light floating quality of Luca's or of Andrea's. They are of the earth earthy, and stand upon it with ponderous weight. Those in the Predella rest heavily upon their stomachs, while the seated *putti* above are as unwieldy and weighty as elephants. Just as his fruits seem to be heavier than actual fruits so have his figures more weight than living people. This characteristic of Giovanni's is not without a certain suggestion of grandiosity, if not of grandeur, and I draw attention to it, not so much in detraction, as to point the contrast between his work and that of Andrea, often so similar in form, always so different in spirit. In the confusion of imitative work this ponderous quality of Giovanni is an invaluable clue to authenticity.

¹ For a charming appreciation of this Lavabo, its beauty and utility, see Vernon Lee's essay, "Art and Usefulness," *Contemporary Review*, No. 429, Sept. 1901, pp. 369, &c.



Aimari, Florence

TABERNACLE

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ, SS. APOSTOLI, FLORENCE



Atinori, Florence

BAPTISMAL FONT

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ. PIEVE, SANTA FIORA

Much the same in construction as the Angels of this Tabernacle are the figures of the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin forming an Annunciation on either side of the Altarpiece in the Oratory of the Misericordia, Montepulciano. Here the Archangel stands as though made of lead, his head seeming to be actually weighed down by the solid halo. The Virgin with her crudely modelled face and heavy head-draperies, we shall find repeated over and over again in the works of Giovanni, specially recalling the Madonnas of the Arezzo Assumption and the Bibbiena Nativity, and the Magdalen of the Camaldoli Altarpiece. Closely as this Tabernacle imitates the style of Andrea, beyond the design itself nothing is his actual work, the cherubs turned inwards in the thickness of the frame, the curious crossed legs of the foremost angels, and the pilasters painted with tile-patterns being all mannerisms of Giovanni introduced later into the *atelier*.¹

One of Giovanni's finest works while closely imitating his father's style is the Baptismal Font in the Pieve of Santa Fiora, not far from Siena. There are three important works in this church, all attributed by M. Reymond to Andrea himself—this Font, the Madonna della Cintola, and the Coronation of the Virgin. All are in direct imitation of Andrea, the two latter being mere varied copies, one of the Verna Assumption, the other of the Assisi Coronation, and of these I have already spoken when considering the originals. It is probable that all three works were executed at a late date, when the actual direction of the *bottega* had devolved upon Giovanni, for his peculiar mannerisms, heavy forms, garlands, figures in the pilasters, painted bunches of flowers, &c., are to be found. The Font is the most carefully executed of the three, and is probably entirely the work of Giovanni. Though less elegant in design, it recalls somewhat the Lavabo of S. Maria Novella. His peculiarities

¹ The type of this Virgin is repeated in the Madonna and Saints, also in part by Giovanni, and evidently executed about the same date, in the Palazzo della Prefettura, Montepulciano.

are repeated here, the figures imitated from Andrea's types, but with the brawny robustness which offers so *bizarre* a contrast to the grace of Andrea. The decorations of the basin itself are very beautiful, and the heavy fruits bound into clusters round the frame, are less mechanically arranged than is often the case with Giovanni.

To the colossal altarpiece of the Ascension in the Chiesa Maggiore, La Verna, I have already referred as one of his finest works of this imitative style. It is the most carefully modelled and glazed of all his altarpieces, and there is much strength and character in the faces. The group of Apostles resembles closely that in the Assumption of the Virgin in Città di Castello, also evidently executed in great part by Giovanni, both being probably produced under the superintendence of Andrea himself. The altarpiece follows to a certain extent Luca's composition in the Duomo relief, but the arrangement has become very conventional, the central figure, whether the Crucified or Ascending Christ, or the Glorified Virgin, being surrounded in exactly the same manner by ecstatic angels in various emotional attitudes, with a group of worshippers, saints or apostles, below. The landscape background plays an important part in both this altarpiece and in the Santa Fiora Baptism.

Among other close imitations of Andrea which bear unmistakable signs of Giovanni's work are the Christ in Glory, of Foiano, the Madonna and Saints of the Chiesa Maggiore, La Verna, and of the Sacro Eremo, Camaldoli, and the much-restored, or rather fragmentary, Assumption of the Duomo, Arezzo.

This last, probably but a fragment of a larger altarpiece, composed after the manner of the Città di Castello Assumption, which it closely resembles, has been patched together in recent times on a painted stucco background and set in a square frame. It is a cold reproduction of Andrea's manner, and interesting only as a striking instance of the truculent spirit with which, in spite of intended imitation, Giovanni replaces the mildness of



Allinari, Florence

MADONNA AND SAINTS

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ. CHIESA MAGGIORE, LA VERNÀ

Andrea. His peculiar type of head, with small cranium and powerful jaw, is very noticeable in these angels, especially in the one supporting the Mandorla on the left, whose fierce look as it grasps the wing of a cherub in its brawny fist, is grotesquely incongruous with the theme.

The same type occurs again, with even more savage aspect, in the Madonna and Saints of La Verna, both in the angels who hold the crown above the Virgin's head and in those of the Predella. Giovanni's angels of this date are anything but angelic, gentle or ethereal. The type of face once seen is not easy to forget—a face expressive of despair, fitter to represent the Miltonic adherents of Lucifer than heavenly beings. A double-distilled essence of the type is to be seen in the sombre, almost ferocious, face of the Magdalen in this Verna Altarpiece.

The Madonna and Saints of Camaldoli, and the Christ in Glory in the Church of S. Francesco, Foiano, are pitiful examples of the vacancy and coldness to which Giovanni could sink when perfunctorily imitating a style for which he feels no sympathy. It would be difficult to find work tamer or more uninteresting. In the Camaldoli Altarpiece the Magdalen is almost exactly repeated from the Virgin in the Montepulciano Annunciation.

Less tame is the polychromatic Madonna and Saints of the Duomo, Arezzo. Though in design faithfully imitative of Andrea's style, it seems as though by allowing himself a free use of colour Giovanni had found more to interest him. In spite of the brilliant colour-scheme, the altarpiece seems from its tranquillity and lack of theatrical gesture to belong to the comparatively early period of Andrea's influence.

So important a work as the frieze of Guido Guerra's monument in the church of Montevarchi cannot be passed over with the mere classification of school of Andrea. It has neither the quality nor the spirit of Andrea's own work, but the cleverness of composition and execution shows an able artist, while its boldness and theatrical energy point to its being in part at least executed by Giovanni himself. The

relief illustrates the delivery into the hands of the priests of Montevarchi of the sacred relic still so highly valued by the citizens of the little town—a drop of the Virgin's milk which the Child is supposed to have let fall from his lips in the Flight into Egypt, and which, miraculously crystallized, was brought from the Crusades by Count Guido. The crowd of pages, soldiers, and horses is treated with much energy, the figure of the kneeling Count is well and boldly modelled, and recalls in a diluted kind of way the sleeping knight in Luca's relief of the Resurrection. The *putti* who support the shield on either side have something of the brightness and charm of Andrea's winged genii of the Or S. Michele *stemma*. The frieze originally formed part of the monument erected on the *façade* of the church to the Count of Montevarchi, the fragments of which are now preserved in the Chapel of the Confraternity, turned for the nonce into a kind of Robbia Museum.

Besides this monument an entire chapel in the same church was likewise decorated with enamelled terra-cottas (the chapel in which the sacred relic itself was preserved), and the fragments have been added to the remains of the *Terrazzina*. They consist of a Lunette representing a Pietà (a school repetition of Andrea's well-known design), thirty-three heads of cherubs from the frieze which ran round the walls, twelve sections of the coffered roof, the tabernacle in which the relic was enshrined, and two figures of SS. Sebastian and Roch. These last only seem to be by Giovanni himself, the rest probably executed under his superintendence. The presence of these two patron saints of pest-stricken cities makes it probable that the decorations of the chapel were of subsequent date to the great outbreak of the plague in 1502.

Very characteristic of Giovanni's transitional manner, between the imitation of Andrea and the more energetic style of the Donatellesques and Verrocchio in particular, are a group of Nativities and other scenes, in which, while adhering in the main to his father's forms and compositions, he allows himself

freedom in the use of colours, dramatic action, and landscape backgrounds.

The best of these altarpieces is the Nativity in the right aisle of S. Lorenzo, Bibbiena, which was without doubt executed before 1520, since it bears the arms of Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi, who died in that year. The Virgin recalls the Madonna of the Montepulciano Tabernacle. The shepherds on either side are dramatic in gesture, and their faces strong and expressive. The landscape stretches back in thoroughly pictorial fashion. The nude figure of S. Sebastian in the Predella is well and boldly modelled. The glaze is good, and the sections more carefully joined than usual, proving a comparatively early date, probably not far from the Ascension of La Verna. The whole altarpiece is thoroughly characteristic of Giovanni's style, and seems mostly modelled by his own hand.

The Nativity of Città di Castello is a reversed and exaggerated repetition of the foregoing, landscape background and dramatic action being more strongly accentuated. Here we get our first glimpse of the thoroughly Verrocchiesque type of face, imitated from the Christ of Or S. Michele—a face with pronounced features, hair parted in the centre, smoothed over the head and hanging on the shoulders in flowing ringlets, cloven beard, and that same half-hypocritical expression which is so unattractive in the Or S. Michele group. The sections are much less carefully joined, and the development of action and of the polychromatic scheme point to a later date than the Bibbiena version.

The Nativity in the Church of S. Chiara, Borgo S. Sepolcro, is another variation of these landscape scenes with figures in dramatic action (half imitated from Andrea, yet showing strongly the Donatellesque influence), in which Giovanni's hand is plainly visible. In the Lunette above he has copied Andrea's Annunciation of the Innocenti *cortile*, adding much more fervour and energy in action and expression.

Very pictorial is the deep landscape, very lively and

dramatic the action in the polychromatic Adoration of the Magi, No. 4412 of the South Kensington Collection, a work unaccountably attributed by most of the critics to Andrea himself.¹ With Andrea it has nothing in common, with Giovanni everything. The theatrical style, the deep perspective, the half-painted landscape background, are all peculiarities of his unsculpturesque methods of work, and the designs of both frieze and architrave are characteristic. The altarpiece has great charm, and is among the best of these pictorial scenes. It was executed, as the *stemmi* in the base bear evidence, for the Cerchi family of Florence.

Two other Nativities, those of the Convent of the Cappucini, Barga, and of the Chiesa degli Angeli, La Verna, are but late and imitative work by the *atelier*. Giovanni himself can hardly be accused of executing these badly coloured and meretricious works which represent the most vapid period of the late *bottega*.

The curiously eclectic altarpiece of the Church of S. Girolamo, Volterra, representing the Last Judgment, is a work of different character, dignified and powerful, worthy to be placed with the Verna Ascension as one of Giovanni's best productions. The base is inscribed: QVESTA TAVOLA AFFATTO FARE MICHEL-AGNIOLO DI NICHOLAIO CEHEREGLI MCCCCCI. The date gives a certain basis for the grouping of these transitional works with elaborate landscape backgrounds. In general composition it follows the usual style of Andrea and the figure of the Archangel is evidently inspired by the S. Michael of the Brunswick Lunette, while the naked youth who kneels before him is a repetition from Giovanni's own figure in the medallion—Christ Healing the Sick Youth—on the Loggia di S. Paolo. The face of Christ on the other hand is of

¹ The Tondo No. 7752 of the same Collection, though probably executed under the superintendence of Giovanni, and of a late date, does not seem to show any traces of his own hand. In the curves of the angel's draperies, the type of faces, and the absence of haloes, there is evident intention to imitate the style of Luca. The Tondo was in Casa Mozzi, Florence. Vasari, ii. 192.

precisely the same Verrocchio type as in the Verna Ascension, and the energetic action of the trumpet-blowing angels and tragic expressions of the damned below, show also the Donatellesque influence. The dancing angels in the painted background have been evidently imitated from the *Paradiso* of Fra Angelico, now in the Accademia, Florence.

We now come to a group of statues executed by Giovanni, probably in his mature years, but still imitating the style of Andrea. In the Church of the Osservanza, Siena, the same which contains Andrea's beautiful Coronation of the Virgin, on either side of the high altar are statues of the Madonna and the Archangel Gabriel, forming an Annunciation. At first sight these statues, especially the Madonna, appear to be Andrea's own work. She stands with dignity, a trifle colder however than is usual with Andrea; her draperies are simply arranged showing the shapely limbs beneath. Her expression is grave and her bearing stately. Fine as is the statue, a closer study forbids the attribution of it to Andrea. Hands and face lack his fine modelling, and the coarser touch of Giovanni soon obtrudes itself. On comparing the statue with the Madonna of Trapani, an undoubted work by Giovanni, all hesitation vanishes. The treatment is the same in every respect, only in the Osservanza Virgin a little more refined and careful.

The corresponding figure of the Archangel betrays the hand of Giovanni more readily. It is a coarser piece of modelling than the Madonna, and is besides on a slightly larger scale. It bears all his mannerisms, the powerful jaw and thick throat, the loosely-jointed limbs and ponderous weight. Both figures are enamelled white, which has been elaborately gilded with patterns and borders on the robes, but is now almost worn away. The only colour used is a heavy green in the lining of the Virgin's mantle. The statues are but little known, of all the critics only Signor Cavallucci mentioning them, and that only in his list among the *atelier* work. Mere

atelier work they are not, but deserve a high place among the productions of Giovanni while under Andrea's influence.¹

The Madonna just referred to in the Church of S. Maria del Gesù, Trapani, is another work of much beauty, and very characteristic of Giovanni. The powerful jaw and thick throat of the Virgin, her robust build, and the solid weight of the Child's body on her arm, are good examples of his ponderous style. The close resemblance of the Child to that of the Lunette over the door of the Madonna della Quercia, Viterbo, suggests the same period, 1509-10, as a probable one for this work.

Even more in Andrea's style are the two statues of S. Giuliano and S. Ansano in the little Oratory of S. Maria di Buonconsiglio, Prato, where is also a replica by Giovanni with characteristic mannerisms of the Gradara Altarpiece. These two fine figures have been strangely ignored by the critics, only Signor Cavallucci mentioning them, and that but casually, in his catalogue of the works of Andrea's school. Yet works so fine in pose and modelling cannot be passed over so lightly. They seem certainly to be executed by Giovanni at the time when he was most under the influence of Andrea, most careful and self-respecting. The hair of S. Ansano is arranged in Andrea's characteristic clusters, the faces and hands of both are well modelled, the attitudes noble and easy. But for a certain vacancy of expression the figures might pass for the work of Andrea himself. So little observation have they attracted that the very names are erroneous, for it is undoubtedly S. Giuliano, in knightly tunic, with boots and tasselled gloves, and not S. Paul, who is never represented in this costume. (It is the same figure we have already seen

¹ Photographs can be procured of Lombardi, Siena.

Of the other works in enamelled terra-cotta in this church, the medallion of Evangelists in the roof are not even of the Robbia school (Signor Milanesi attributes them to Il Vecchietta—Vasari, ii. 195). The Pietà is of the late *atelier*, apparently by the same hand that executed the coloured busts in the Cappella Medici, S. Croce.



Atinari, Florence



Atinari, Florence

SS. GIULIANO AND ANSANO

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA, S. MARIA DI BUONCONSIGLIO, PRATO

in Andrea's altarpieces of the Campo Santo, Arezzo, and of Berlin.) S. Ansano is still more strangely travestied—being named by both the authorities of the chapel and by Signor Cavallucci himself, S. Lucia (!), notwithstanding that the tunic reaches but little below the knee, and that the broad flat chest and masculine face and bearing proclaim it a youth, and not that most feminine of princesses.

Over the entrance to this same oratory, so little known even locally, yet so rich in the later Robbia works, is a fine polychromatic Lunette representing S. Louis of Toulouse between two adoring angels, also by Giovanni, of the same period as the Altarpiece within. The saint wears a blue robe powdered with yellow fleur-de-lys and a blue mitre, and holds a yellow crozier in his gloved hand. This strong effective colouring is thoroughly characteristic of Giovanni, although in type of face and a certain gentleness of feeling the work is akin to Andrea. The Lunette is much broken, and the glaze has in some places scaled completely off, yet enough remains to proclaim it one of Giovanni's most attractive works.

There is another Lunette in the same town over the door of the Oratory of S. Antonio Abate, representing that saint with an angel on either side. It is treated in exactly the same way as the foregoing, and is apparently of the same date.

The Berlin Museum possesses (No. 121) a well-modelled and carefully-glazed statue of a *putto*, attributed to Andrea, but which shows rather the characteristics of Giovanni. Its *provenance* is from the Palazzo Pucci, Florence, and it evidently formed part of a fountain, or was perhaps a complete fountain in itself for the centre of a *cortile*. The statue is very close to Andrea in general character, but is coarser in form and quite without the gentleness which characterizes the liveliest of Andrea's *putti*. The mischievous, satyr-like expression of this child, the thickly-jointed, heavily-built limbs, as well as the motive itself, seem to belong to the coarser style of Giovanni.

In the Palazzo Communale of the little town of Stia, in the Casentino, is a charming half-figure of a Madonna executed by Giovanni in the style of his father, and with much of Andrea's tenderness in the face. M. Reymond attributes it to Andrea himself, placing it at a late period in his life. To me the figure seems more characteristic of Giovanni, particularly the Child, whose face, with its alert yet rather vacant expression, we shall find many times repeated among the cherubs surrounding the frames of the later altarpieces, for example the Madonna della Cintola, Foiano, and the Gallicano Madonna and Saints. The square jaw of the Virgin is modelled also with the characteristic coarseness of Giovanni.

Enough of the work imitative of Andrea has been cited to show the main differences between the two masters. Before turning to Giovanni's more realistic and personal works, the already-mentioned Pistoja Tympanum and Viterbo Lunettes must be again referred to as among the most important and characteristic of this group. The Viterbo Lunettes bring our study up to the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century, and although there seems to be no definite time at which Giovanni abandoned his father's style to adopt more decidedly that of the Donatellesques, and a more theatrical and pictorial treatment, yet it would appear from the few dated examples that the greater number of such works belong to a subsequent period.¹

¹ There is a fine clay study for a Nativity, No. 252 of the South Kensington Museum, observed by me too late for notice in the text, but which is of importance in estimating Giovanni's artistic claims. The sketch is exceedingly rough, but shows much talent and energy. The really grand half-figure of Christ as Man of Sorrows in the Grossherzogliches Museum, Darmstadt, must also be mentioned as one of Giovanni's best works.



Artinari, Florence

S. LUCIA

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA. S. MARIA A RIPA, EMPOLI

CHAPTER III

POLYCHROMATIC, PICTORIAL, AND PSEUDO- CLASSIC WORKS

BEFORE proceeding to the more elaborate and highly-coloured Altarpieces of Giovanni, which belong certainly to a later time than any yet considered, a few of his finest and most personal works must be mentioned, whose date is very problematic.

At what period for example must be placed that most sculpturesque of all his figures, the S. Lucia of the Church of S. Maria a Ripa, Empoli? In spite of the modern repaint, which gives it at first sight a trumpery look, this is one of the finest of his works, in which his robust style attains a real grandeur. The energy which he so often allows to find expression in mere truculence here assumes its best form. The statue is ruinously "restored" with bad colour, and set in a vulgarly painted niche, which detracts much from its dignity. It is really studied to better advantage in the photograph. All Giovanni's mannerisms are here, the narrowing cranium, the powerful jaw, the short nose, the robust build, but they are expressive only of physical strength and resolution and are in no way exaggerated or unpleasant.

Another fine work of the same personal character is the Altarpiece of the Annunciation, now built into the wall over the doorway of Casa Sorbi, in the Borgo S. Jacopo, Florence.¹

¹ Placed there in 1830 by Giuseppe Sorbi. This curious outdoor museum comprises, besides the above-mentioned Annunciation, a fine *putto*, probably by Andrea himself, three cherubs, two coloured Angels in niches, and a bunch of fruits, all of a late date, besides some fine old iron-work. Beneath the Annunciation is a scroll inscribed: QVESTA IMAGINE POSE GIUSEPPE SORBI NELL ANNO 1830.

The figures are treated with the same vigour, the heavy quality again taking the form of grandeur and solemnity. Rarely has the theme been rendered with more dignity. The flesh is the natural terra-cotta (as probably was originally that of S. Lucia), and the scheme of colour is varied and bright. At whatever date we place the foregoing statue this relief must go with it, and both represent one of the best artistic moments of Giovanni's activity.

Giovanni could when he chose give to his imitative sculptures a force and character which prove his usual coldness to be due to no want of ability. The best example of this is the relief in the Museo di Maioliche, Pesaro, representing a powerful Leonardo-like head of a warrior in a Roman helmet. The modelling is finer than is usual with him, and is not spoilt by realistic colouring. It is attributed by Signor Anselmi to Andrea,¹ but its late character and the energy of style point to its being rather the work of Giovanni in one of his best moods. We find several of these Verrocchio or Leonardo-like heads with fierce expression, imitated by the later school, one of the best of which is in the Berlin Museum.²

The Altarpiece of S. Peter Martyr in the Church of S. Domenico, Arezzo, is another of Giovanni's best works, not only for the dignity and character of the statue itself, but for the beauty of design and detail in the whole work. The figure is set in a niche surrounded by a garland of fruits, against a background of tiles painted with delicate fern leaves of blue and green. The pose is stately, the face has much character, and is well modelled. In the Predella the Martyrdom of the Saint is represented in one long scene set in a spacious green landscape. From the polychromatic scheme and the oil-paint used in the flesh the work must be of a late date.

There is a smaller statue of the same character, also set in

¹ Anselmi, "Le Maioliche dei Della Robbia nella provincia di Pesaro-Urbino" (*Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1895, pp. 435, &c.).

² Not numbered.



Alinari, Firenze

ANNUNCIATION

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA, CASA SORBI, BORGO S. JACOPO, FLORENCE

a niche and surrounded by the hanging garland, representing S. Domenico, formerly in S. Croce, now No. 68 of the Museo Nazionale. Unfortunately during the earthquake of 1895 it was thrown from its niche and broken in several places, and the restoration, especially of the face, has been most unsuccessful. A fine bust of S. Peter Martyr in the Palazzo Alessandri, Florence, also belongs to this group, with a face full of expression and powerfully modelled.

We now come to work of a different character, the polychromatic, painted and pictorially treated reliefs, in which for the most part the style of Andrea is ignored, and that of Verrocchio, Mino da Fiesole and the Donatellesques generally is substituted. Such sculpturesque character as still remained in the productions of this late epoch was dying rapidly out, the methods of treatment growing ever more illegitimate. Landscape backgrounds which lead the eye deeply within the scene, flesh, hair, and eyes painted with startling realism, theatrical gestures, bright and varied colours of transitional tints, had carried the Robbia Art by the beginning of the sixteenth century out of the realm of sculpture to an ill-defined region, trivial and inartistic. But one step farther and we have the modern Presepio with its background of real stones and moss, and its figures clad in silk and woollen garments, gold necklaces and spangles.

As an example of the innovations in pictorial treatment the Baptismal Font of Cerreto Guidi, in the neighbourhood of Empoli, is one of the most striking, and has the interest of bearing its date, 1511.¹ Although the scenes are too poorly executed to be by Giovanni's own hand, the design is probably due to him, and the Font must at all events have been pro-

¹ The Font was for a long time in the Garden of Casa Maggi, formerly Orsini, and was transported from thence to the church, for which doubtless it was originally designed. In the removal the sections were broken up and in replacing several were fitted into the wrong place (Vasari, ii. 198, Milanesi's Commentary).

duced under his direction. It is no wall decoration like that of Santa Fiora, but a free-standing hexagonal construction fabricated entirely of glazed terra-cotta, each of the six sides containing a scene from the life of the Baptist, elaborately treated like paintings. Of these scenes, one—the Angel appearing to Zacharias—is copied directly from Ghirlandajo's fresco of S. Maria Novella, and the last—the Baptism of Christ—from Verrocchio's painting now in the Accademia. Each scene is a picture set in its earthenware frame. In one we have a room in deep perspective, with a pattern stencilled on its walls; in another a Loggia through whose arches we see a distant landscape; in another a deep thick wood with cascades of water in relief, and little animals and birds. The figures in all, except the Baptism and the infant S. John in the wilderness, are imitated from Ghirlandajo. I cannot agree with the praise bestowed upon this work by Cavallucci, who speaks of it as “*un ouvrage gracieux et peu commun, qui fait bonne figure dans la série des sculptures des della Robbia.*” To me it appears one of the poorest of the later works, both for the illegitimate methods employed and for the coarseness of the actual work. Original however it certainly was, and has the further merit of being suitable to its purpose. In any case it hit the popular taste, and we find it almost exactly repeated in the Church of Galatrona, near Montevarchi, and with variations in the Church of S. Piero a Sieve.

It would be wearisome to speak of all the works imitating popular pictures and sculptures executed by the school at this late period, but one or two of the most important must be noticed. To the painted Lunette in the Museo del Duomo, representing God the Father between two Angels, I have already referred in connection with its strange attribution by the critics to Luca himself. Early *quattrocento* as is the style, the painting undoubtedly belongs to this late period of imitative work, and is a mere copy of the manner of Alessio Baldovinetti, possibly even of some perished fresco.

It has the insincerity of a copy, nothing could be more artificial than both gesture and expression of the Angels. The garland with its heavy fruits belongs to the manner of Giovanni, though the actual work of the Lunette, with the ill-constructed heads, trivial draperies, and bad drawing,¹ is too insipid to attribute to his own hand or even to his design.

Some mention must be made of the numerous imitations of that most popular statue of the Christ-Child standing on the Sacramental Cup, with hand raised to bless, originated by Desiderio in his Tabernacle of S. Lorenzo. Directly copied by Giovanni himself in his Tabernacle of Bolsena, it was imitated by the school in several altarpieces, of which the best is in the Cathedral of Barga. It seems rather however the copy by Mino da Fiesole in his Tabernacle of S. Ambrogio which made most impression on the school. The strange mannerisms of Mino's style became, as is known, immensely popular among Florentine artists, and many times in the late work of the Robbia *atelier* we find his type of face imitated, noticeably in the Child of the Madonna and Saints of S. Giovanni in Sugana, near S. Casciano, and of the Madonna of S. Concordio, near Lucca.

Neither must the rather charming Holy Family in the *cortile* of the Palazzo Canigiani, Florence, be forgotten, a group composed in frankest imitation of Raffaello's "Belle Jardinière," not by Giovanni himself, but apparently under his management of the *bottega*. The original painting dates from 1507-1508, but the Robbia imitation is probably executed many years later, for it bears signs of the last period of the school's decline.

To return to the works by Giovanni himself. The Tabernacle of the Cathedral of Bolsena can be placed somewhere about 1512, for it bears the *stemma* of the Medici, and was probably commissioned by Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., during his residence in Bolsena as Papal Legate.

¹ Note the monstrous hand of God the Father.

The presence of the Cardinal's hat is sufficient evidence that it is not later than 1513, in which year he was created Pope. To the classic tastes of this Prince M. Reymond attributes the imitation of the antique style in the Predella scenes. These figures, nude or clad in Roman armour, are certainly the best executed part of the altarpiece, otherwise exceedingly tame and artificial, and seem to be entirely by the hand of Giovanni himself. The introduction of the above-mentioned Christ-Child standing on the Chalice, copied from Desiderio's Tabernacle in S. Lorenzo, with which the whole composition has affinities, may have been also introduced by order of the Cardinal as a reminiscence of his ancestral Church.

The Altarpiece of S. Medardo, Arcevia, is dated for us by the document of payment made to Giovanni in 1513. (Doc. xxxiii.) This work seems to be almost entirely by Giovanni's own hand, and may be taken as an example of his most characteristic manner of this period. The composition is disconnected and purposeless, especially the lower part of the altarpiece. The arrangement of badly-proportioned pilasters with protruding garlands, upon the top of which the Predella is hoisted, seems to have its origin in the search for something new rather than in any artistic idea. The gesticulating figures of the Baptist and S. Andrew and the lively angels bearing candelabra anticipate the *baroque* art of the following century. The faces both of the Christ in the Lunette above and of the Baptist are of the most pronounced Verrocchio type.

Equally Verrocchiesque is the head of S. Jacopo in the Madonna and Saints over the entrance to the suppressed Convent of S. Jacopo di Ripoli in the Via della Scala, Florence, with its parted and flattened hair, forked beard and sanctimonious expression.¹ The S. Domenico on the other

¹ One of the most striking examples of this Verrocchio type is Giovanni's Bust of Christ in the Collection of the Marchese Viviani della Robbia, Settignano.

side goes with the Peter Martyr of Arezzo and of Casa Alessandri, with the sharply-cut features and bold modelling of the face. The figure of the Virgin is badly proportioned, and the hands, though well-formed and vigorous, are colossal in relation to the face. The transposal of the garland from the front to the thickness of the frame is another of the inartistic experiments already noticed with reference to the Madonna of the Architects. We are conscious through all this late period of the effort to attract attention by new devices.

The two large Lunettes now in the Conservatorio of La Quiete, Rifredi, representing the Incredulity of S. Thomas, and Christ appearing to the Magdalen, were formerly inside the Church of this Monastery, and were probably executed at the same date as the foregoing.¹ In the first we have the group by Verrocchio on the walls of Or S. Michele copied to the minutest detail, and set in a landscape background. The figures are white against this polychromatic setting, and the relief so high as to be almost free statues. In the Noli me Tangere opposite, treated in precisely the same way, and obviously by the same hand, the distant landscape is painted on the flat background with the spacious effect peculiar to Giovanni. Yet, though closely following Giovanni's style of this time, neither of these Lunettes seems to be by him, and

¹ Signor Milanesi makes the oversight of calling this Incredulity of S. Thomas, "The Baptism of Christ" (Vasari, ii. 192, Milanesi's Commentary). The Noli me Tangere has been attributed to Francesco Rustici, the imitator of Leonardo, on the basis of the following statement of Vasari in his "Life of Giovan Francesco Rustici." "He executed in half relief in clay for the nuns of S. Lucia in Via San Gallo, a Christ in the Garden who appears to Mary Magdalen; the which was afterwards glazed by Giovanni della Robbia and placed over an altar in the church of the said sisters between a decoration of *macigno*" (Vasari, vi. 606). The statement is of interest and worthy of consideration, for neither of these reliefs have quite the character of Giovanni's work nor of any of the school. They approach most nearly, as will be elsewhere noticed, to the manner of Benedetto Buglioni. Judging by the one work we possess of Rustici—The Preaching of S. John to the Pharisee, over the north gate of the Baptistery—there is little ground for attributing them to him. The work of the bronze statues is of a different quality, freer and nobler.

I have alluded to them here as illustrating the climax of the Verrocchio influence on the school.¹

The large altarpiece of S. Stefano in Pane, near the Conservatorio, must not be omitted from the list of Giovanni's characteristic works. Detached and poor as is the general composition, the two figures of prophets on either side of the early Madonna the Tabernacle enshrines, are good specimens of his vigorous Donatellesque style.

Stiff and mechanical as is the design of the Lavabo, now in the Sacristy of S. Niccolò da Tolentino, Prato, it must yet be attributed to Giovanni, by reason of certain characteristics peculiar to his style, the hanging garland, the Desiderio-like Child, the development of the twisted pattern round the arch, first introduced into the Arezzo marble altar and frequently to be met with in Giovanni's own works. The Lavabo bears the date 1520, inscribed on a small *cartello* on one of the pilasters. The top-heaviness of the design is doubtless increased by the loss of the coloured tiles which must once have decorated the base, but even with that allowance the composition is of the poorest. Nothing could be less interesting than these disconnected tiers divided from each other by coarse mouldings, nothing could be stiffer or colder than the figures in the Lunette. What a contrast to its prototype of S. Maria Novella! It will be observed that the design on the pilasters has developed to a much more florid pattern than has yet come under our notice, a pattern in which grotesques have taken the place of the more classic floral ornaments used by Andrea.²

¹ There is a third Lunette, another Noli me Tangere, in the Entrance Hall, a poorer work than the foregoing.

² The Lavabo was executed for the Convent of S. Anna and only removed to its present position in 1847. Signor Carotti, in his article "Il Tabernacolo nella Sagrestia di S. Niccolò da Tolentino" (Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1891, p. 112), classes this inferior work with the Tabernacle of the SS. Apostoli as being executed by an unknown pupil of Andrea. It is curious that work so characteristic of Giovanni should not be recognised as his, whatever doubt there may be about this Lavabo.

The date of this Prato Lavabo brings us at once to the formidable group of theatrical works one would so gladly exclude from Giovanni's productions, but which illustrates, unfortunately, so important a period in the decline of the Robbia art. By a curious perversity, almost as though he set a higher value on these brightly coloured and showy altarpieces than on his other works, no less than four of them are dated. First comes the coarse, painted Assumption of the Virgin now in the Campo Santo, Pisa, which bears the same date as the Prato Lavabo, 1520. This large altarpiece was originally executed for the destroyed Church of S. Marco di Calcesana, and the document of contract between Giovanni and the commissioners is in existence, dated 18th August 1518, just two years previous to the completion of the work. (Doc. xxxv.) We may regard this space of time between commission and execution as a sign of the pressure of work during this period, the most fruitful in quantity, the most inferior in quality, of Giovanni's activity.

The fact that Giovanni signed the contract is in itself but little proof that the work was executed by him, for he had at this time nominally taken over the management of the *bottega*, which had been actually under his control for so many years. After 1515 we hear no more of Andrea until his death in 1525, and there is no doubt that Giovanni must be held accountable for all work issuing from the school at this date. Yet though much of the Pisa Altarpiece is evidently by assistants, the greater part is the work of Giovanni himself. The composition, more pictorial than ever, imitates the Assumption of Perugino now in the Accademia, Florence, breaking away from the traditional Robbia treatment of the theme. The saints below in Andrea's compositions are always intent upon the main incident, the glorification of the Virgin, and are not conscious of the spectator. These four figures have no more connection with the crowded scene above them than have the statuettes in the pilasters; they are gazing out at the

world and the observer. It is the first time such an arrangement has been adopted, and the importance of the altarpiece lies rather in this departure from the traditional representation than in any intrinsic merit. The central scene is painted entirely in oils, only the frame including the pilasters with their tiny statuettes being glazed.

The year following Giovanni produced the only work to which he chose to set his signature, the Nativity, No. 25 of the Museo Nazionale, executed for the now suppressed Convent of S. Girolamo delle Poverine. *HOC OPVS FECIT IOAES ANDEE DE ROBIA—MDXXI*, it bears on one of its *cartelli*, yet we will do him the justice to suppose that little beyond the design is his actual work. Ill-grouped, disconnected, glazed with the utmost coarseness, with a landscape background so confused that its meaning is almost untraceable, the altarpiece is about as unpleasant a mixture of crude colour and trivial design as the late *atelier* ever produced. As an example of the depths to which the Robbia art had sunk, the figure of the tiny angel which seems to try its utmost to prop up the heavy circle in which God the Father is represented, is the most pitiable. It is significant of the inartistic character of the *bottega* at this date that such inferior, slovenly work should have issued from it bearing the name of its chief, an artist who with all his faults was incapable of producing anything so characterless and toylike. Who knows what commercial exigencies necessitated the signature! It is certain at least that Giovanni was not careful of his artistic reputation when he signed with his own name so crude a work.

The large brilliantly-coloured altarpiece representing the Deposition in the same Collection (Museo Nazionale, No. 64), originally in the Convent of S. Martino, is a work of different quality, though probably of no distant date. Faulty as it is, with the sky striped like a tiger's back, the want of balance, and the inartistic projection of the central group, (the figure of Christ seems actually toppling off the knees of the Virgin,)



Atinari, Florence

MADONNA AND SAINTS

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ. VIA NAZIONALE, FLORENCE

there is at least some effort at concentration and attention to the theme. It is a characteristic work of Giovanni's later and most theatrical style, and we find over and over again these same boldly-modelled, large-featured faces, realistic without being life-like, more like wax figures than sculpture. The background of this altarpiece is elaborately painted on the flat surface, and but for the striped sky would be effective and spacious. How much finer is his earlier *Pietà* of S. Lorenzo, Bibbiena, white on blue, and entirely conventional, yet illustrating the scene more forcibly for all its lack of realism.

Equally realistic and theatrical with the Bargello version are the two unglazed oil-painted terra-cotta groups also by Giovanni, one over the door of the Sacristy in S. Salvatore al Monte, near Florence, the other in the Berlin Museum. (No. 128A.) In the former two of the figures—the dead Christ and the Magdalen—have the Verrocchiesque type of face strongly accentuated; in both the work is bold and full of character.

Of the principal production of this theatrical and meretricious group, the Tabernacle of the Via Nazionale, Florence, I have already spoken in the prefatory chapter, taking it as a typical example of Giovanni's degeneracy of this epoch. It is perhaps for crude realism, bad composition, want of purpose and unity, the worst specimen of his own handiwork; for notwithstanding that the Bargello Nativity bears his signature and this does not, the Tabernacle shows more of his actual execution. It is in fact an annoyance that with all its tawdry ostentation and doll-like trumpery, there are signs of real power and energy in some of the figures. It is a deliberate lapse, and as such to be condemned perhaps more than any other of his works. The Tabernacle bears the date 1522.

Much the same kind of meretricious work is the Altarpiece of the Cappella Bardi-Serzelli, in the Church of S. Croce, representing the Madonna and Child enthroned, with S. John and the Magdalen on either side. Over her head fly two

angels with parti-coloured wings, precisely the same as in those of the Tabernacle of the Via Nazionale. The figures are ill-constructed, the expression of the faces vacuous. Flesh and hair are unglazed and brilliantly painted in oils. There is hardly a colour, primary or transitional, omitted in this gaudy work, which yet remains as cold and tame as a kaleidoscopic pattern.

Of this polychromatic group there is but one more work worthy a detailed study, the colossal figure of the Madonna over the entrance tower of the Convent of Monte Oliveto Maggiore. The statue of S. Benedict on the other side of the tower is less good, and certainly not by Giovanni himself. The Madonna gains doubtless an adventitious dignity from the surroundings and isolation, and might in a museum extract the same sorrowful feelings over the debasement of the art as the above altarpieces, but nearing the massive gateway of the convent after the desolate waste of calcined rock through which the road runs, it is with a sensation almost amounting to an artistic thrill that one sees over the gloomy archway this vivid and realistic statue seated majestically on the deep wide throne, the one spot of colour in the landscape. It is possible that criticism would be less harsh towards many of these late Robbia productions were they in similar surroundings, for crude and theatrical the figure is for all its specious dignity.

Leaving this series of polychromatic works we find Giovanni executing in the same year as the Via Nazionale Tabernacle, a series of heads in the pseudo-classic style as different in treatment as it is easy to conceive. He was commissioned in 1522 by the monks of the Certosa di Val d'Ema to decorate the Loggia of their cloister with a series of Medallions, representative of the whole cycle of Christianity from the Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, down to the Fathers of the Church and chief Saints, male and female.¹

¹ Vasari, ii. 192, Milanesi's Commentary.



Amari, Florence

MADONNA ENTHRONED

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBbia, MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE

For many years these heads were in the *cortile* of the Accademia helping to train the young student in pseudo-classic methods, but have now been restored, much damaged during the transit, to their original place in the cloister. The gigantic work was carried out, as usual at this late epoch, hastily and evidently without interest. There are no less than sixty-seven of these busts, varying in quality, some being really fine examples of Giovanni's later manner, but most as poor and perfunctory work as the school has ever produced.

The heads are quite free and are set in deep round embrasures almost as though protruding from windows, and behind most of them are the emblems by which we are enabled to guess which saints they represent. The predominant colours are a brilliant white and an equally glaring yellow, but in many there is a good deal of blue and occasionally a touch of green and other colours. It is curious how the effect falls short of the artist's purpose, for these sixty-seven heads, notwithstanding great realism of treatment and a certain alertness in expression peculiar to one mood of Giovanni, notwithstanding the obvious intention to attract the eye and enliven the building, are singularly dull and uninteresting, and I can conceive it possible to walk across the entire cloister without observing their existence.

In the four angles of the building are the four Evangelists in close imitation of Roman sculpture, apparently executed by Giovanni himself. The west side is devoted to the Prophets and Forerunners of Christ, beginning with Adam and Eve, on either side of whom is a child and a human-faced serpent. Then follow Noah, Moses, David, and many others, mostly in oriental turbans, the series winding up (prophets and prophetesses of the Old Testament failing) with S. John Baptist and S. Stephen. Of this series, fifteen medallions in all, the best are those representing Judas Macca-bæus (? the name is uncertain, a knight in helmet and

armour however), an Oriental with a dragon (name also unknown to me) and the very alert and Donatellesque S. John the Baptist.

In the centre of the north side is the head of Christ of the usual marked Verrocchio type, and on either side eight Fathers of the Church and early Saints, seventeen medallions in all, mostly very poor. Of these only three seem to be executed by Giovanni himself, those to the extreme right, representing S. George, a Monk with a devil behind him, and S. Antony of Padua with the Lily.

The east side is mostly given up to the female Martyrs, and of these the best are the Magdalen—a really fine classic work, which might pass for Minerva—SS. Margaret, Lucia, and Apollonia. The last head on this side is a Donatellesque S. Sebastian, which recalls the coloured terra-cotta bust of the Baptist now in the Berlin Museum.

Lastly, on the north side of the cloister are the Apostles, some of them much restored, those most worthy of notice being S. Matthew with the Angel behind, S. Philip (named on the halo), S. James the Great with the pilgrim's cockleshell, very Verrocchiesque in type, S. John the Evangelist (also named) whose face is of the same Donatellesque type as the S. Sebastian, and finally S. Peter, which has the additional interest of being imitated from Luca's Apostle of the Pazzi Chapel.

Twenty of the medallions seem to be by Giovanni himself, and several of these have much character of a bold theatrical sort. The rest, often intolerably poor, have something beyond their very slight æsthetic value, for different styles are discernible, which if studied, might mark the special work of the assistants we are now content to mass together under the term school, and result in a more satisfactory classification.

These pseudo-classic heads seem to have become immensely popular, for we find many such medallions, often



Alinari, Florence



Alinari, Florence

BUSTS OF SAINTS

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA AND ATELIER. CERTOSA DI VAL D'EMA

surrounded by garlands, among the very latest of the *atelier* work. One and all are ascribed to Giovanni himself in the museums and private collections where they abound, but none of them are sufficiently vigorous to warrant the attribution, and are generally the latest and poorest productions of the school.

CHAPTER IV

OSPEDALE DEL CEPPPO, PISTOJA

THERE remains only of the important works of Giovanni the monumental decorations of the Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoja—the last flicker of the expiring genius of the Robbia family—a work which, although infinitely removed from the sculpturesque and classic manner of Luca, has yet much originality, dignity, and beauty.

These decorations presumably occupied the last years of Giovanni's life, and were left incomplete at his death, the last section of the frieze being added as late as 1585 by a local sculptor, Filippo Paladini. It is a curious fact that a work so striking and original is mentioned neither by Vasari nor Baldinucci, nor even by so late a critic as Cicognara. Signor Milanesi tells us that the Loggia was erected in 1514,¹ and from the date inscribed on one of the medallions the decorations seem to have been completed in 1525, or the date *may* refer to the commencement. Much doubt has been expressed by former critics as to the author, but later study and research has finally decided the question, and even were there no internal evidence that Giovanni designed, and in great part executed the work, no other attribution is possible, Andrea being at this date nearly ninety years of age. For documentary confirmation we have the evidence of the Abbate Giuseppe Tigri, who wrote in 1833 a Guide to Pistoja, and there asserts that records were found in the account books of the Hospital of payment made in 1524 to Giovanni;² also of Signor Gaetano Milanesi himself, who discovered among the archives of the Hospital

¹ Vasari, ii. 197, Milanesi's Commentary.

² Giuseppe Tigri, "Guida di Pistoja," 1833. (See Milanesi, Vasari, ii. 198.)

references to payments made to "*Giovanni di Andrea della Robbia*" from the year 1525 to 1529.¹

Although the design has far more unity than is usual with the late work, in the execution of the reliefs at least three different hands are apparent, and although identification of these assistants would be at present hypothetical, yet it seems possible to extract such parts of the work as are characteristic of Giovanni, and to classify the rest according to their salient mannerisms.

Signor Cavallucci considers this bold and original decoration to be the most personal of all Giovanni's works. He claims that here he found for the first time the mode of self-expression natural to him, completely breaking through the traditions of the family. It is no simple decoration to the already existing architecture, but an integral and important part of the building itself, "*a façade of faïence, a triumph of polychromatic architecture.*"²

Not altogether a rupture and innovation after all. To this application the art has been tending ever since the days of Luca himself. It is curious to trace its gradual development from a sculpturesque towards an architectural purpose, the latter undeniably its more legitimate employment. Begun by Luca in the encrustation of roofs and walls, this enamelled façade of Pistoja marks the midway point between such earlier

¹ In answer to Signor Cavallucci's question, whether in his researches he had found any document which would put the authorship of the work beyond dispute, Signor Milanesi wrote as follows: "1883 . . . At your request . . . I reply, that some years ago, searching in the Archives of the Ospedale del Ceppo for notices concerning . . . the beautiful frieze . . . on the façade, I found very short records of Giovanni di Andrea della Robbia, from 1525 to 1529, without specifying the object of his credit, nor the sum paid to him, but solely the transference for greater clearness to a book, now unfortunately lost. This book I believe to have been kept by Monsignor Leonardo Bonafede, then manager of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, Florence, of which that of the Ceppo, Pistoja, was a dependency. It would appear that Santi Buglioni, of whom Vasari speaks, took part in the work, since in the books of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova is found recorded the cost of clay sent to Pistoja to the said Santi." (Cavallucci et Molinier, "*Les Della Robbia*," p. 142, Note 1.)

² Cavallucci et Molinier, p. 154.

decoration and the climax of the development in the Château de Madrid, begun not many years later.

The decoration of the arches differs but little from that of the Innocenti or of S. Paolo from which the Loggia is imitated. It consists of medallions set between each pillar, and terminating on either side with a half circle; but this broad band enamelled in brilliant colours which separates the Loggia from the building above is without parallel in architecture. It is no frieze conceived in the classic spirit to bear the eye in rhythmic movement from one point to the other. Giovanni is entirely without the sense of rhythm or harmony, and his frieze is disconnected, not only by its large separating figures, but by the violent contrasts of colour in the background of each scene. Of the five reliefs which form it (the sixth is, as has been said, of later date) we have first a pale blue ground, with much brilliant yellow in the figures; in the second a white ground and a scheme of blues and greens without any yellow; in the third greens and yellows upon a dark blue ground, and so on, each scene offering a violent chromatic contrast to its predecessor. The frieze therefore is in no sense of the word harmonious, for the compositions are as disconnected from a general plan of balance as the colouring, but it has a barbaric strength and boldness in the juxtaposition of brilliant tints which lends it a crude and meretricious effectiveness. Coming suddenly round the corner of the grey street on the gem-like brilliancy of this band of colour, some such sense of heightened vitality comes to us as we receive from a gorgeous display of jewels or rich brocades.

The scenes are appropriate to the use of the building, illustrating the seven works of Mercy performed by the Brothers of the Hospital, and between each is inserted a figure representing one of the seven Virtues. The execution is very unequal, and all the designs are too trifling in their detail, and treated with most unsculptural realism. In the frieze the work of two hands is plainly visible, that of Giovanni,



Altinari, Florence

CLOTHING THE NAKED

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA AND SCHOOL. OSPEDALE DEL CETTO, PISTOJA



Altinari, Florence

SHELTERING OF PILGRIMS

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA AND SCHOOL. OSPEDALE DEL CETTO, PISTOJA



Alinari, Firenze

HEALING THE SICK

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ AND SCHOOL. OSPEDALE DEL CEPPO, PISTOIA



Alinari, Firenze

VISITING PRISONERS

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ AND SCHOOL. OSPEDALE DEL CEPPO, PISTOIA



Alinari, Florence

BURYING THE DEAD

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ AND SCHOOL, OSPEDALE DEL CERPO, PISTOJA



Alinari, Florence

FEEDING THE HUNGRY

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ AND SCHOOL, OSPEDALE DEL CERPO, PISTOJA

robust and energetic and much influenced by Verrocchio, and that of a flaccid and very inferior artist, whose chief peculiarity is his imitation of Filippino Lippi.

Beginning with the first relief on the left side of the Loggia representing *The Clothing of the Naked*, we find these two different styles very apparent. In the centre of the scene stands one of the Brothers of the Hospital, with a group of male beggars on one side and of females on the other, to whom he doles out garments. All the males, including the monk himself, have Giovanni's characteristic energy, the beggar close to the monk having the familiar Verrocchio face. The modelling of the nude is good and strong, especially in the figure to the extreme left, whose action has an almost Leonardo-like vigour. The face of the Brother has much character and recalls the portrait busts of Andrea. The group of females on the other hand is, with the exception of one Botticelli-like figure, as ill-modelled, as awkwardly draped and posed as possible, the flaccid forms offering a striking contrast to those of Giovanni. Note for example, the crossed legs of the woman leading the child, and compare the thick amorphous limbs, without strength to support the body, with those of the males opposite. There is in these crouching attitudes more than a suggestion of Filippino Lippi,¹ and to an assistant much influenced by that painter I attribute those parts of the reliefs not executed by Giovanni.

Turning the corner to the façade itself, the first scene represents *The Sheltering of Pilgrims*, where the two styles are again apparent. The entire central group, with the Verrocchio-like heads (specially pronounced in the two pilgrims) is the work of Giovanni, to the energy of which the flaccid figures on either side, with their pillow-like limbs, offer a vivid contrast.

In the next, *The Healing of the Sick*, Giovanni seems to have left the central group to the Filippinesque assistant, reserving

¹ I refer more particularly to the frescoes of the Caraffa Chapel, in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome, executed 1489-1493, and to those of the Strozzi Chapel, S. Maria Novella, finished 1502.

to himself the two important parts on either side, where the Brothers are tending wounded patients. These two groups are among the finest of the series, although the dignity of effect is marred by the introduction of trifling detail, such as the tablets recording the numbers of the beds, &c. The expression and character in the faces of the Brothers is as forcible as in any portrait of the time, especially good in the half-crippled physician leaning on a crutched stick, whose halting gait is exceedingly well suggested. It is evident that these figures of the Brothers throughout the entire series of reliefs are portraits carefully studied from life. In this scene the hand of the assistant is visible only in the group to the left of the sick-bed, and in the servant who stands behind the physician writing in a book, the physician himself, a fine thoughtful figure, being by Giovanni.

The next scene, *The Visiting of Prisoners*, seems to be entirely by Giovanni, with the exception of the two figures to the right. The imprisoned saint seated on the ground is the most pronounced Verrocchiesque type we have yet had, almost a counterpart of the Christ in the group of Or S. Michele.

The Burying of the Dead which follows, has been left on the contrary entirely to the hand of the Filippinesque assistant. All the figures are equally flaccid and boneless, the dead not more so than the living. All have the weak knees of Filippino's fainting Prince in the Strozzi frescoes of S. Maria Novella, and a specially exaggerated mimicry of Filippino's style is the hysterical abandonment of the widow at the foot of the bier.

In the last of the Robbia reliefs, *The Feeding of the Hungry*, all except the group receiving the bread to the right seems to be the work of Giovanni.

The frieze was left unfinished for some unknown reason, possibly the death of Giovanni himself, which appears to have taken place in 1529. The last scene, *The Giving of Drink to the Thirsty*, was added by Filippo Paladini, as the inscription attached to it records, in 1585, and is merely of painted stucco.



Atinari, Florence

CHARITY

OSPEDALE DEL CETTO, PISTOIA

The large figures of the Virtues placed between each scene have all the characteristics of the Filippinesque assistant, although they are, probably by reason of their greater prominence in the decorative scheme, less carelessly modelled. The attribution of these clumsy, ill-posed, flaccid figures, with their vacant faces and pillow-like limbs, to Giovanni who has shown himself to be so vigorous in the main scenes, would be a gross injustice. Careless and theatrical Giovanni often is, but his figures are never boneless nor tottering. These Virtues have precisely the same defects noticed in the inferior parts of the foregoing scenes. In the *Charity* moreover, the child who stands at her feet is an almost exact counterpart of that to the extreme right in the first scene, *The Clothing of the Naked*. The influence of the Filippino school is apparent in all the feeble figures, its peculiarities exaggerated to caricature. Giovanni imitated several Masters, but he seems to have confined himself to the Donatellesque energetic school, and no suggestion is to be found in any of his works of the influence of Botticelli or of Filippino.

Between each pillar of the Loggia, as in the Florence hospitals, is a medallion, four containing the different shields of the hospital and city, viz.: the blossoming tree-stump (*ceppo*), the *stemma* of the hospital from which it takes its name, the Medici arms, and the chequers of Pistoja itself. On the other three are represented the Annunciation, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Visitation, executed by one of the poorest, most trivial of Giovanni's imitators, one whose handiwork we have met with often enough in the vapid angels and subordinate figures of his polychromatic altarpieces. They are mere artisans' copies of his weakest style, and accentuate his most glaring faults. Each of the foregoing medallions is surrounded by a garland composed of ponderous and brightly-coloured fruits.

Beneath the Annunciation is inscribed the date 1525, and beneath the Visitation the letters M · A · M · D · B · I · M · E · F · V · T,

the initial letters of Elizabeth's words of greeting to the Virgin : "Maria Alma Mater Dei Benedicta In Mulieribus Et Fructus Ventris Tui."¹

I have reserved to the last the Lunette over the door of the chapel, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, because it appears to be executed by an assistant of the Robbia family of whom we have not hitherto spoken, but to whom a short study must be devoted—Benedetto Buglioni.

Of him Vasari writes in his "Life of Verrocchio": "*There lived in the time of Andrea*" (Verrocchio) "*Benedetto Buglioni, who from a woman of the family of Andrea della Robbia had the secret of glazing terra-cotta; wherefore he executed in that manner many works within Florence and without; and in particular in the Church of the Servi near the Chapel of S. Barbara, a Resurrected Christ with angels; and over the chief entrance of the Church of S. Pier Maggiore the Lunette which is to be seen there. After Benedetto the secret remained with Santi Buglioni, who alone now knows how to work in that kind of sculpture.*"² Thus Vasari, with his usual mixture of fact and fiction. Milanesi tells us that Benedetto Buglioni was born in 1461, and gives the following list of his authentic works, as is so often the case however, without adding the sources of his information. In 1484 he executed a Christ in Limbo for the garden of the Convent of the Servi (by Vasari misnamed a Resurrection). In 1487 he did important works for the ruined Chapel of the Santo Anello in the Cathedral of Perugia, fragments of which are still to be seen in the Museo.³ In 1499 he executed a marble cantoria for the Church of S. Stefano, Genoa. "*In 1504 . . . for a chapel . . . in the Badia of Florence he did several works in terra-cotta, of which there now remains only one Lunette, with our Lady and angels, now placed over the door of the church in the Via del Proconsolo.*" In 1508, Milanesi's note continues,

¹ Vasari, ii. 197, Note 2.

² Vasari, iii. 375 and 376.

³ A Tondo, "Madonna in Adoration" and "Christ and the Woman of Samaria."



Alinari, Firenze

HEALING THE SICK (CONT.)

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA. OSPEDALE DEL CEFPO, PISTOJA



HEALING THE SICK

GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIÀ. OSPEDALE DEL CEPPO, PISTOIA

Alinari, Firenze

Buglioni executed two terra-cotta altarpieces for the Church of S. Francesco, Massa, and "*in 1510 for the façade of the Spedale del Ceppo of Pistoja, a Madonna.*"¹ He died in 1521. Santi Buglioni was not, as Vasari and Baldinucci affirm, his son, but his pupil only.

Of Santi Buglioni, born 1494, Milanese tells us that he was the last who worked in glazed terra-cotta in Florence after the manner of the Della Robbia,² but again he omits to state his authority. He learnt the art from Benedetto, and after his death in 1521 entered the Robbia *bottega*, and in 1525 was Giovanni's assistant in the decorations of the Spedale del Ceppo. For this latter statement the authority is given, namely, that "*in the books of the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova, is found recorded the cost of clay sent to Pistoja to the said Santi.*"³ Afterwards, Giovanni dying in 1529, and Luca and Girolamo della Robbia having gone to France, Santi entered the service of Il Tribolo.⁴

The fact which concerns us chiefly in these slight biographies is that in 1510 Benedetto Buglioni executed a Madonna for the Hospital of Pistoja, ten years earlier, that is to say, than the probable commencement of the Loggia decorations, and *four years before the erection of the Loggia itself*.⁵ This being the case, it is plainly not on the Loggia that we must seek for his Madonna, but on an older part of the building. With good reason Professor Marquand affirms the Madonna of Buglioni to be the Coronation of the Virgin over the entrance of the chapel, and it seems as though there can be but little doubt on the subject, for the style of the work is evidently of an earlier date than the decorations of the Loggia. The careful workmanship, the simple colours (white on blue only, with the crowns of a pale yellow), the Andrea-like composition, all testify to this. The peculiar type of face, twisted locks of hair, and arrange-

¹ Vasari, ii. 184, Note 1.

² Vasari, iii. 376, Note 2.

³ See letter from Signor Gaetano to Cavallucci, quoted p. 245.

⁴ Vasari, vi. 88, Note 1.

⁵ "La loggia fu eretta nel 1514, sotto il primo spedalingo messer Leonardo di Giovanni Buonafè fiorentino." (Vasari, ii. 197, Milanese's Commentary.)

ment of the cherubs' heads around, are different moreover from any of the Robbia work hitherto noticed.

Yet there are several other works which bear the same character, first and foremost of which is the recumbent statue of S. Cristina in the Collegiata of Bolsena, by M. Reymond attributed to Giovanni himself. The faces of this figure and of the Virgin in the Pistoja Coronation are identical, with their rather blunt features and peculiar *unrefined* look, and I have no doubt whatever that both works are by the same hand. Besides this statue the Tympanum over the door of the Church of the Ognissanti, Florence, falls naturally into place as a work of Benedetto. Beyond the obvious likenesses of composition, colour, &c., to the Ceppo Lunette, the figure of Christ with the triple crown is almost precisely the same, even to the arrangement of the draperies and the long twists of hair. The type of face of the Ceppo Virgin is repeated both in the Madonna herself and in the female Martyr below. The broad upturned faces of the *putti* are alike in both. There can be no doubt that the two Coronations are by the same hand.

Several of the Saints in the lower part of the Ognissanti Tympanum seem however to be the work of Giovanni, the central group especially showing his characteristics. The half figures of S. Peter, S. John the Baptist and S. Gregory are better modelled than the rest, and bear unmistakable signs of the influence of Verrocchio and Donatello. The face of the Baptist vividly recalls the bust of S. Lorenzo in the sacristy of the church of that name, and the coloured terracotta bust of the Baptist in the Berlin Museum.

To return to Buglioni. The Lunette over the entrance of the Church of S. Lucia de' Magnoli, Via dei Bardi, and the much inferior Annunciation of the Confraternità di S. Pier Maggiore, Via Gino Capponi, have both the character of his work; the S. Lucia in the one and the Madonna in the other having again the same blunt-featured face with the peculiar unrefined expression.



Alinari, Firenze

CORONATION OF VIRGIN

BENEDETTO BUGLIONI. OSPEDALE DEL CERRO, PISTOJA



S. CRISTINA

BENEDETTO BUGLIONI, COLLEGIATA, BOLSENNA

Of the other glazed terra-cotta work given by Milanese to Benedetto, the Lunette of the Badia still remains to be noticed, a rather characterless work surrounded by a modern garland, in which both Virgin and Angels show the same type of feature, though less pronounced than the foregoing.

Lastly, of the two altarpieces executed for S. Francesco, Massa, some fragments are still in the church representing the Nativity, of finer workmanship than his Coronation at Pistoja, Professor Marquand tells us.¹

Enough has been seen of the works of Benedetto Buglioni to show that however unattractive they may be, they rank considerably higher than the average school productions.

What part Santi Buglioni took in the work of the Ceppo, whether he was the Filippinesque assistant or the inferior artist of the medallions, or whether he only superintended the mechanical processes, it is mere hypothesis to suggest, for we have no certainly authenticated work by him to serve as a basis for comparison. At the time of execution he would have been a man of thirty, and perhaps hardly likely from his age and education to produce such artisan's work as the medallions. It is significant that while we have constantly met before with the crude style of the latter in the altarpieces of Giovanni, the Ceppo frieze is, so far as has come under my observation, the only example of Robbia work bearing marked signs of Filippino's influence. Since Santi seems to have entered the *bottega* only after 1521, it is at least possible that he may have been this assistant.

¹ "Search for Della Robbia Monuments." These fragments have not yet been seen by the author. I have been tempted to add to the list the two Lunettes of La Quiete, The Incredulity of S. Thomas and Christ and the Magdalen, on account of certain similarities, but the treatment of relief is so different to the foregoing that it seems extremely doubtful.

CHAPTER V

THE MONKS OF THE ROBBIA FAMILY—LUCA THE YOUNGER

BEFORE following the career of Girolamo della Robbia in France, and tracing to its total extinction the art originated by Luca, some words must be said of other members of Andrea's large family and of their few authenticated works. Among their names a terrible confusion reigns, which no document so far helps us to unravel, for two on entering the Convent of S. Marco appear to have changed their baptismal names, and to identify them certainly with any of those mentioned in the Declarations to the Catasto seems impossible. The discovery in recent times of a document proving the existence of yet a third Dominican monk, certainly the son of Andrea, also a worker in glazed terra-cotta, has further added to the confusion.

Of the two eldest sons, Antonio and Marco, the only mention is by Andrea himself in his Declaration of Property to the Catasto of 1470, at which time they were respectively three and two years old (Doc. xxi.). Giovanni is mentioned in the same document as coming next in age. Girolamo was the youngest of the family, being born in 1488. Between these came Francesco, Luca, and Paolo, seven sons in all. So much for the secular names. Vasari, who is likely to be fairly correct since he was personally acquainted with Andrea, and probably also with his sons, tells that *two* of them took the Dominican habit in the Convent of S. Marco under Savonarola,¹ and it has generally been supposed that these two were the

¹ Vasari, ii. 181.

Frate Luca and the Frate Ambrogio, known to be Della Robbias, monks of the Convent of S. Marco, and the sculptors of certain terra-cottas. But here in this newly-discovered document we have the name of yet another Dominican monk, also a worker in enamelled terra-cotta, indisputably a son of Andrea—Mattia. "*Frate Mathias Andree Marci de Robbia*" the document states, to settle any doubt as to parentage (Docs. xxxvii. and xxxviii.).

Did three of Andrea's sons actually enter the Convent of S. Marco, or must we exclude one of these three monks from his own progeny? Signor Gnoli, to whom we are indebted for the discovery of the important document, thinks it unlikely that Vasari should be mistaken, and concludes that since Frate Ambrogio in the documents which refer to him is called merely "*Frate Ambrogio de Rubia*" without the *Andree Marci*, he might have belonged to the other branch of the family and be perhaps a son of Simone, Andrea's brother, and is inclined to substitute Fra Mattia in his place. If this were so, it would be another piece of evidence that the assistants of Andrea were not confined to his own immediate offspring.

The confusion begins with the effort to identify the ecclesiastic with the secular names. Signor Milanese supposes that Frate Ambrogio was Paolo, and Frate Luca, Marco.¹ Others have suggested that Frate Ambrogio was Francesco, and that Frate Luca retained his baptismal name. Lastly, as we have seen, there is the doubt thrown by the document relating to Fra Mattia, whether Fra Ambrogio belonged at all to this branch of the family; altogether a rather difficult skein to unravel.

In any case, Frate Ambrogio della Robbia, be he Paolo or Francesco or a son of Andrea's brother Simone, took beyond doubt the Dominican habit in the Convent of S. Marco in 1495, as is recorded in the annals of the Order: "*Fra Ambrogio della Robbia*" (no indication of parentage) "*vestito*

¹ Vasari, ii. 181, Note 1.

dal Padre Girolamo Savonarola nel 1495, professato li 13 X^{bre}, 1496."¹ That he worked in terra-cotta is also certain, for an example exists (poor enough) which documentary evidence proves to be by him—the Presepio in the Church of S. Spirito, Siena, executed in 1504 (Doc. xxx.). The figures—such parts at least as can be seen of them, for they are mostly concealed by trumpery draperies—are not glazed, but painted in oil, and apparently several are a later addition. The best of them are S. Peter and a shepherd blowing bagpipes, but as far as can be judged Fra Ambrogio's artistic powers do not rank very high.

Of Fra Mattia the following record exists, gathered from a couple of documents in the State Archives of Rome, one bearing the date of 1522, the other 1524. The first is the commission for an altarpiece given by the Cardinal Francesco Armellini, a prelate who was allowed by Leo X. to bear the name of Medici (Doc. xxxvii.); the second a commission for a Tondo to be executed for Alberto Serra da Monteferrato, secretary to the Apostolic See and a friend of Armellini (Doc. xxxviii.).

The altarpiece for the Cardinal Armellini Medici was placed in the Church of S. Lorenzo in Piscibus in the Piazza di S. Pietro, Rome, and was apparently destroyed during the restoration of the church. Of the Tondo no trace remains, but the original drawing from which it was to be executed is sketched at the beginning of the document of commission. The drawing represents a poor work, the Holy Family surrounded by cherubs' heads and a garland, quite insignificant and worthless. It is enough to assure us that Frate Mattia had inherited none of the family talent.²

The one existing work attributed to him, but which no

¹ Cavallucci et Molinier, p. 118.

² The document with the drawing was formerly in the Rossi Collection, Rome. For the above facts see Gnoli, "Fra Mattia della Robbia" (Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1889, p. 82), where the sketch of the Tondo is reproduced.

conclusive evidence confirms to be his, is the altarpiece in the Collegiata of Montecassiano, near Macerata—also a worthless production showing neither talent nor education, among the poorest, most characterless of the *atelier* work. It represents the Madonna enthroned between S. Roch and S. Sebastian (a votive offering in the time of pest these figures seem to indicate), and bears on the frieze the date 1527, and on the base of the Predella 1532, probably the dates of commission and completion.¹ Signor Gnoli thinks that besides this work, the medallion of the Medici *stemma*—the three feathers set in the diamond ring—now in the Museo Industriale, Rome, and by Professor Marquand attributed to Luca the Younger, is also by Frate Mattia.

Frate Luca della Robbia, who also took the Dominican habit under Savonarola, may or may not have been a worker in glazed terra-cotta. If as some suggest, he did not change his name on entering the convent, we should have to accept him as the celebrated Luca the Younger who assisted Raffaello with the Vatican Loggia. If as seems much more probable, he was Andrea's second son Marco, there is no work existing authentically proved to be by him, although tradition ascribes the bronze medal in very high relief representing Savonarola, to him in collaboration with Frate Ambrogio.² What is certain about him is that he was mixed up in the Piagnone disturbances and was interrogated before the Signoria in the Process of Savonarola in 1498. His depositions are in existence, long-winded documents, from which may be gathered that the monk was as ready to fight as to pray.³

This Luca della Robbia must not be confounded with the

¹ Also reproduced in Gnoli's article. See also Antolini, "Un Altare a Monte Cassiano" (*Arte e Storia*, 1887, pp. 21 and 38).

² For this attribution there is no authority whatever but the statement of Baldinucci. ("Notizie," vi. 17.)

³ The documents are published in the "Archivio Storico Italiano e Giornale degli Archivi Toscani," iii., 1858, pp. 200-202.

littérateur of that name who wrote the spirited account of his interview with Pietro Paolo Boscoli, the would-be assassin of the Medici. The author of this narrative was his cousin, Luca, the son of Andrea's brother Simone, from whom the present Marchesi Viviani della Robbia trace their descent. "*The narrative*," says Symonds, "*dictated in the choicest vernacular Tuscan by an artist whose charity and beauty of soul transpire in every line, in contrast to the fiercer fortitude of Boscoli, is one of the most valuable original documents for this period which we possess.*"¹

The reasons are strong for supposing that Luca the Younger, the son of Andrea, born in 1475, the assistant of Raffaello in the Vatican Loggia, was a layman, and not the same person as Fra Luca of the Savonarola riots. First we know that he was married (to a certain Agnoletta di Pietro Falconieri), and secondly that he migrated to Paris in the wake of his brother Girolamo (dying there about 1550). Both facts are incompatible with a religious life in a convent. That a "*Frate de la Robia*" undoubtedly took part in the work of the Vatican pavement is proved by the documents of payment, and it is chiefly owing to this that the confounding of the names has arisen, although as a matter of fact the documents strengthen the evidence that Luca of the Vatican pavement was a layman. In 1518, August 5th, the following entry was made in the book of accounts: "*E più a M^o*" (*Maestro*, therefore probably not *Frate*) "*Luca de la Robia che fa el pavimento de la gran logia per parte di pagamento, ducati 200.*" And a month later follows another: "*E più al Frate de la Robia per il pavimento ducati venticinque.*" (Doc. xxxvi.) From these entries it seems evident that two of the Robbia family were at work on the pavement, one probably as chief *entrepreneur*, the other as his assistant, for it is unlikely that the same person should be called at one time "*Maestro Luca*,"

¹ Symonds, "Age of the Despots," p. 425. The documents are published in the "Archivio Storico Italiano," i. 283, &c.

and at the other "*Frate*."¹ Signor Gnoli concludes very reasonably that the Frate de la Robia, whose name it will be noticed is omitted, was no other than Fra Mattia who as we have seen was employed later by Roman prelates.

Accepting therefore Luca of the Vatican pavement as a layman and a different person to Fra Luca, we have the following record of his work. Vasari, who mentions him as assistant of Raffaello in the decorations of the Loggia,² tells us that besides that he executed many other similar works in the Vatican.³ Of these and of the pavement itself but few fragments remain. Some of the tiles, Professor Marquand affirms, are preserved in the Church of S. Silvestro al Quirinale,⁴ and the Sale Borgia of the Vatican still contain some inferior productions, including a Papal *stemma*, which may possibly be by him.

One absolutely incontestable work of his remains, which proves that however good he may have been as a maker of pavement tiles, he was a very inferior sculptor. This is the polychromatic Madonna with SS. Michael and Antonio, also in the Sale Borgia, which is signed under the glaze, LVCAS HOC OPVS FECIT 1499. From this may be gauged his artistic powers. All the defects of the later school are exaggerated; gross disproportion in the figures, careless modelling and glazing, clumsy garland. It is among the poorest of the *atelier* work.

Vasari, who probably knew him, tells us that he was a very industrious artist, "*molto diligente negl' invetriati*,"⁵ and it is

¹ Maestro was of course the usual designation of the members of the Guild of Sculptors, Architects, &c., "*Maestri di Pietra e Legname*," in which all the brothers must have been entered, but the ecclesiastic title usually replaced the secular.

² "*Il quale*" (the Loggia) "*fece Raffaello finire con tanta perfezione che sino da Fiorenza fece condurre il pavimento da Luca della Robbia*." Vasari, iv. 363.

³ "*Fece*" (Luca) "*di sua mano oltre a molte altre opere, i pavimenti delle Logge papali che fece fare in Roma con ordine di Raffaello da Urbino papa Leone X.*," &c. Vasari, ii. 182.

⁴ Allan Marquand, "*Search for Della Robbias*," p. 698.

⁵ Vasari, ii. 182.

possible that to his 'prentice hand many of the roughest of the late productions are due. There is however in this one authenticated work too little character to serve as a basis for a study of his personal style.

Vasari further tells us that Girolamo, who is the last important member of the Robbia family, finding himself prosperous under the patronage of King Francis I., sent for Luca his brother, the only member of the family surviving in Florence, in order that he might share in his good fortune. Fate however willed it otherwise, for Luca died there after a short time, leaving Girolamo again without kith and kin in a foreign land.¹ Part of this statement is confirmed by documents. Luca was actually sent for by Girolamo to aid him in the work of the Château de Madrid, presently to be considered, and he was already settled in France in the beginning of the year 1547, as a document of February 17th proves, in which we read that he and his brother, "*M^e Jherosme de la Robie*," were exempted from payment of all taxes, like the other domestic officers of the King (Doc. xliii.).

It would appear that Luca died in France probably about 1550, before the dismissal of Girolamo consequent upon the death of Francis I.

Of Andrea's seven sons we have thus authentic records of at least five: Giovanni, Luca, Fra Mattia, Fra Luca (baptized Marco?), and Girolamo. If we also accept Milanesi's theory that Fra Ambrogio was Paolo, there remains but one of whom we have no notice. The records are bewildering, but the general deduction from them and the few authenticated works is clear, *i.e.*, that with the exception of Giovanni, and Girolamo, whose one surviving work proves him to have been an artist of no small power, the sons of Andrea were fitter for the cloister than the *atelier*, that they had inherited more of their father's emotional nature than of their great-uncle Luca's genius. To the chief work of Girolamo, the Château de Madrid, although

¹ Vasari, ii. 183.

hardly a fragment of it remains, a separate chapter must be devoted, since the vanished work was of the utmost importance and illustrates the final development in the Robbia Art.¹

¹ Concerning the vexed question as to whether the assistants of Andrea were confined to his own family there is little to guide us. We know that the Buglioni, master and pupil, were employed, and it is probable from the vast number of works produced within a comparatively short period that there must have been many others. There seems little doubt moreover that the art of glazing terra-cotta reliefs in the Robbia style was not confined to Florence. Signor Milanesi, without however adducing any authority, gives the names of several Sienese artists who worked in this material: Il Vecchietta, Antonio Federighi, Lorenzo Marrini, and Giacomo Cozzarelli.

To Il Vecchietta, Signor Milanesi attributes the Evangelists in the vaulting of the Osservanza, Siena. To Lorenzo Marrini the relief in the Cappella de' Turchi outside Porta Camollia (Vasari, ii. 194, Note 1). The supposition that Lorenzo Vecchietta worked in terra-cotta rests upon tradition. The old Guides to Siena record a Pietà in this material by him in the Church of the Badia di S. Michele, which bore the inscription: *HOC OPVS FECIT LAVRENTIVS D. VECCHIETTA PRO SVA DEVOTIONE* (Vasari, iii. 79, Note 3). If it could be proved that this altarpiece were really *glazed*, the testimony would be convincing.

That Lorenzo Marrini worked in glazed terra-cotta we have only Signor Milanesi's unsupported statement (Vasari, iii. 517, Note 1).

CHAPTER VI

GIROLAMO IN FRANCE—THE PALACE OF MADRID

GIROLAMO DELLA ROBBIA is of more importance than any of his brothers with the exception of Giovanni. The youngest of Andrea's sons, born March 9th, 1488, he was destined to carry on the family art to its final extinction and to spend nearly forty years in a labour of which now hardly a fragment survives.

Vasari tells us that he worked in marble, in clay, and in bronze, as well as in glazed terra-cotta, and that by competing with such sculptors as Sansovino and Baccio Bandinelli he had become an excellent artist. He went, goes on Vasari, with some Florentine merchants to France, where he was employed by King Francis I. in his Palace of Madri (Madrid), which he decorated with many figures and other ornaments. In Orléans also he executed many works in clay, thus acquiring great fame and wealth. He then speaks of the arrival and death of his brother Luca to which we have already referred, and finishes his biography by stating that after that event Girolamo decided to return to Florence in order that he might enjoy in his own land the fruits of his labours, but finding the Duke Cosimo, from whom he expected employment, preoccupied with the war of Siena, he returned to France to die there.¹

The main facts of this biography are true, though the return of Girolamo to Florence, as is gathered by the documents, had hardly so satisfactory a reason. The date of his arrival in Paris was probably somewhere about 1527, for in the following year the famous Château de Madrid was

¹ Vasari, ii. 182.

already begun, and by 1530 Girolamo and the builders were in the full swing of work. It thus follows directly after the decorations of the Ospedale del Ceppo on which Girolamo was most likely employed, and it is probable that from them he conceived the further development of a building entirely encrusted with brilliant enamelled earthenware. The Palace, unique in the history of architecture and presumably more *bizarre* than beautiful, was built at the command of Francis I., who, set at liberty in 1526 after the Treaty of Madrid,¹ returned to his own country full of projects for a life of luxury and pleasure. First the Palace of Fontainebleau was to be entirely reconstructed, and not content with that, in the neighbourhood of Paris was to be erected a kind of fairy-castle, whose like the world had not yet seen, a palace of *faïence*, encrusted inside and out with glazed ornaments of brilliant hues and elaborate design. This was the Château de Madrid, situated close to the river in the Bois de Boulogne, to which nearly forty years of Girolamo's life were dedicated, and of which now no vestige remains save a few small fragments of ornament. A curious destiny for the largest of all the Robbia works, a fabric built of a material whose great merit, according to Vasari, was its resistance to time and weather, a durability as he expresses it "well-nigh eternal."²

A document of February 1529 (O.S.) speaks of Giovanni as in collaboration with a certain Pierre Gadier, master-builder, employed probably under his direction in preparing the walls for the encrustation. They refer also to a Gratian François who appears to have been the chief architect of the building, for his name is generally mentioned first, and on one occasion he is spoken of as "*entrepreneur du bastiment*." The numerous documents of payment date from 1532 to 1563 (Doc. xxxix.).

¹ Hence the name.

² The following account as well as the documents relating to the Château and Girolamo's life in France, I have taken from Cavallucci et Molinier, "*Les Della Robbia*," chap. v. pp. 163-186.

It appears that Girolamo set up his workshop and furnaces at Suresnes, on the opposite bank of the Seine close by the Palace. At Puteaux, in the neighbourhood, he bought in 1536 a large house, which became later the family estate, his eldest son Pierre François bearing the title Seigneur de Puteaux (Doc. xl.).

The Château was not completed when the King died in 1547. Whether it was that the new King Henri II. put a stop to the building altogether, or whether, as Cavallucci and Molinier suppose, his Superintendent of Royal Buildings, Philibert Delorme, dismissed Girolamo out of personal enmity, is uncertain, but in any case he returned to Florence somewhere about 1550, at which time his name disappears from the *Comptes des Batiments*. It is possible that his retirement or dismissal may have been due to Delorme's artistic disapproval of the style of the building with its profusion of enamelled work, a disapproval which he himself expresses in his Treatise on Architecture in the following terms: "*It*" (glazed earthenware) "*appears to me little suitable to masonry especially used for external decoration,*" and he goes on to limit its employment to the ornamenting of chimney-pieces, "*and only that when the enamel is good and the clay well baked.*"¹ It is evident from such phrases that Delorme was not an admirer of the latest development of the Robbia art.

But whatever may have been the cause of his leaving France and the half-finished Château, the fact is indisputable that Girolamo returned to Florence and remained there for the following ten years. It seems improbable that it was out of home sickness and the desire to spend his gains in his native land as Vasari says, for when in 1559 Francesco Primaticcio replaced Delorme as Superintendent of Royal Buildings under the new King Francis II., he easily persuaded Girolamo to return with him to France and to continue the work. In 1560 the payments to "Maistre Jherosme de la

¹ "Architecture," livre ix. chap. vii.

Robia" and "Gatien François" again begin (Doc. xxxix. 11), and from that time up to his death six years later he laboured at the decorations of the Palace, which he did not however live to complete. We find that on August 4th, 1566, he died in his house at Nesles, founder of a branch of the Robbia family which flourished for many years in France. He was buried in the Augustine Convent of S. André-des-Arcs, in whose registers the following notice is entered: "*Le dimanche iiij^e jours desdicts mois et an (August 1566) décéda, a Nesles, noble homme Hierosme de la Robbya, Italien Florentin, architecte du Roy, et fut son corps inhumé le mesme jour environ les six heures du soir en l'église et couvent des Augustins.*"

We have a minute description of this life work of Girolamo given by the Marquis Delaborde,¹ as well as Du Cerceau's engravings of the details. Cavallucci et Molinier publish a reproduction of one of these engravings (1576), which shows a long, gabled building of three stories, having four square towers at its corners. Both ground floor and first story are faced with a shallow Loggia, supported upon pillars, between each of which was the usual medallion with busts in relief. Pillars, walls, Loggia, in fact the entire buildings were encrusted with glazed terra-cotta of brilliant hues. From the engravings of some of the interior decorations—mantelpieces, &c.—it would seem that the style was *baroque* and trivial. Altogether as the picture of this dazzling Earthenware Palace rises before the mind, with its bewildering brilliancy of colour and reflections, one cannot refrain from sympathy with Delorme's disapproval.

The following accounts by John Evelyn, who saw the Palace in 1644 and again in 1650, are of interest:—

"*We returned to Paris by Madrid, another villa of the King's, built by Francis I., and called by that name to absolve him of his oath that he would not go from Madrid, in which he was prisoner in Spayne, but from whence he made his escape.*" [An ingenious

¹ Delaborde, "Château du Bois de Boulogne," Paris, 1853.

but most improbable origin. It is more likely that it was suggested by the resemblance of the work to the polychromatic Moorish decorations he must have seen while in Spain, if one needs any other reason than that it commemorated his escape and return to France.] "*The house is also built in a park, walled in.*"¹

His second notice is more descriptive. "*I went out of towne to see Madrid, a palace so call'd built by Francis the First. 'Tis observable onely for its open manner of architecture, being much of terraces and galleries one over another to the very rooffe, and for the materials, which are most of earth painted like Porcelain or China-ware, whose colours appeare very fresh, but is very fragile. There are whole statues and rilievos of this potterie, chimney-pieces and columns both within and without. Under the Chapell is a chimney in the midst of a room parted from the Salle des Gardes. The house is fortified with a deep ditch, and has an admirable vista towards the Bois de Boulogne and River.*"²

Evidently the Porcelain Palace did not much attract John Evelyn, the lover of stately and severe architecture.

Of this great fabric encrusted outside and in with a material "as durable as marble itself," after less than three centuries scarcely a fragment survived. Already in the time of Louis XVI. it was in so dilapidated a condition that its destruction was commanded, and the Revolution breaking out, it remained for the Terrorists to execute the royal orders. By them it was razed to the ground, and the fragments of glazed earthenware sold to the paviors of Paris to mend the roads. All that now remains, or at least is recognised, of the labours of over thirty years are a few fragments of the architectural decoration, part of a cornice in white enamel and two fragments of rosettes in white and violet, preserved in the Musée Ceramique of the Sèvres Porcelain Factory.³

¹ "Memoirs of John Evelyn," p. 51. Warne & Co. (Chandos Library.)

² Ibid., p. 204.

³ The site of the Château at the end of the Allée de la Reine Marguerite still retains the name, "Porte de Madrid."

Girolamo was employed also at the Château of Fontainebleau, and the description of his work there vividly recalls the old Florentine style. Thus the document of payment describes a large medallion over the portal of the castle. "*Un grand rond de terre cuitte et esmaillée sur le portail et entrée du dit château de Fontainebleau, garny a' un grand chapeau de triumphe tout autour remply de plusieurs sortes de feuillages et fleurs, melons, concombres, pommes de pin, grenades, raisins, pavots, artichauts, citrons, oranges, pesches, pommes, grenouilles, lézards et limats, et plusieurs autres . . .*" (Doc. xli.)

Neither of this medallion nor of any other work at Fontainebleau is there any fragment remaining.

Towards the close of his life after his return from Florence, Girolamo was employed on two large marble monuments, the shrine for the heart of Francis II., begun in 1563, and the tomb of the Valois at Saint-Denis, begun in 1565. What his share in these works was we learn also from the accounts of the Bâtiments du Roi.

"*A Jherosme de la Robia, imager et sculpteur, la somme de 200 livres, sur le façon et ouvrages de deux petits enfans de marbre blanc, de la haulteur de deux pieds ou environ, qui serviront à mettre au coings du piedestail qui se dresse pour le cœur du feu roy Francois dernier.*"

"*A Jherosme de la Robia, sculpteur, pour les ouvrages de sculpture par luy faits en deux petits enfans de marbre qui doivent servir à la sépulture du cœur du feu roy François dernier decedde; sur la figure d' un gisant de marbre blanc, de longueur de cinq pieds représentant la figure de la Reyne, pour mettre à la sepulture du feu roy Henry, dernier decedde, et deux petits enfans de marbre blanc assis sur une tête de mort, tenant une trompe de renommée à flamme de feu renversée, signifians la vie esteinte, contenant deux pieds ou environ de hault, pour servir au tombeau du cœur du feu roy François dernier decedde, pour iceulx porter à Orléans avec le dit tombeau, à luy ordonnée, la somme de 225 livres, par le dit abbé de Saint-Martin."*¹

¹ "Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi," tome ii., pages 107, 108, et 120.

Of these monuments, for which Girolamo carved four *putti* and the recumbent statue of Catherine de Médicis, we have the following notices.

Francis II. died at Orléans, December 5, 1560, and two years later his mother Catherine de Médicis and Charles IX. made plans for erecting a monument in which his heart should be enshrined. This shrine was originally intended to have been set up in Orléans itself, but the plan was ultimately changed, and the monument destined instead to be placed in the Convent of the Célestins in Paris. The design was made by Primaticcio¹ and the different statues, ornaments, &c., were divided between Girolamo della Robbia, Fremin Roussel, and a certain Jean le Roux, otherwise Picart.

In 1792 the shrine was transported to the dépôt of the Petits-Augustins, whence it was eventually taken to Saint-Denis; but of the two *putti* of Girolamo no trace remains, and it is probable either that the design was altered and they were never placed on the monument, or that they were removed during one of the transports.

Of the sculptures by Girolamo on the second monument, the Tomb of the Valois, commissioned by Catherine de Médicis, "the recumbent figure in white marble, five feet in length, representing the Queen," is still to be seen in the Musée de l'Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts. The statue was to form part of a veritable mausoleum. "*This Princess*," writes Pasquier in his Letters, "*who did not consider the Church of Saint-Denis, ancient sepulchre of our kings, spacious enough to receive either the body of the King her husband, nor of herself, nor of Messieurs ses enfans, caused to be constructed during a period of thirty years a building containing three chapels outside the church, to serve for their interment, and erected their portraits in marble, her husband's as well as her own, at a cost equal to that of the kings of Egypt in their mausoleums.*"²

¹ Vasari, vii. 414.

² "Œuvres de Pasquier," tome xiii., lettre viii., et tome xiv., lettre ii.

This building, Notre-Dame la Rotonde as it was called, which was to have had, not three, but six chapels, was destroyed in 1719, being fallen into decay and its restoration being deemed too costly an undertaking, and the tombs it enclosed were transported within the abbey. The chapel was constructed probably from the designs of Primaticcio, and the different statues of the tomb of Henri II. were commissioned to Germain Pilon, Fremin Roussel, Laurent Regnauldin, and Girolamo della Robbia. Germain Pilon was charged to execute the statue of the dead King, and Girolamo, as we have seen, to carve twenty-five years before her death the corpse of the Queen. The roughly-blocked marble figure, naked and almost a skeleton, in the Chapel of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, appears to be certainly the statue executed by Girolamo for this tomb. It was left unfinished at his death, and it may be for that reason that it never figured on the tomb itself where it was replaced by one executed by Pilon, a pendant to his Henri II., a vulgar and meretricious work, evidently suggested by Girolamo's, though representing the Queen young and plump, a kind of recumbent Venus of Medici. It is possible that the crude realism of Girolamo's gaunt corpse was displeasing to the Queen herself, and it would certainly need but little vanity to object to such a representation, for the statue, though good and strong, is terribly repulsive. It reveals however that Girolamo was a sculptor of no small power. From the date of commission and its unfinished state we may conclude it to be his last work.

The following facts have been preserved as to the family of Girolamo. We learn that he was married to Luisa, daughter of Pier Mattei, and had seven children, by name Constance, Jeanne, Jacques, Pierre-François, André, Marie, and Madeleine. Constance married Ascanio di Mari, Seigneur de Beaulieu, goldsmith to Henri II., and the best pupil of Benvenuto Cellini. Of him Benvenuto speaks often in his *Memoirs*, sometimes with praise, sometimes with blame. Constance died

only a few days before her father, and was buried with him in the Church of Augustins (Doc. xliv. 3). Jeanne the second daughter married Mérédic de Donon, Sieur de la Châtre, Contrôleur-Général des Bâtiments du Roi. André entered the army, was given the command of a company of infantry, and took part in the battle of Lepanto (1571). Marie married François Bontemps, Sieur d'Ornano. Pierre-François, Seigneur de Puteaux, married in 1574 Françoise, daughter of Robert Choart, Avocat to the Parliament, and inherited the family property.

This list is enough to show that from a worldly point of view the Robbia family was not on the decline.

In Italy the name still survives in the Marchesi Viviani della Robbia, descendants of Andrea's elder brother Simone. This branch of the family was equally prosperous, and numbered in the seventeenth century no less than three bishops in one generation.

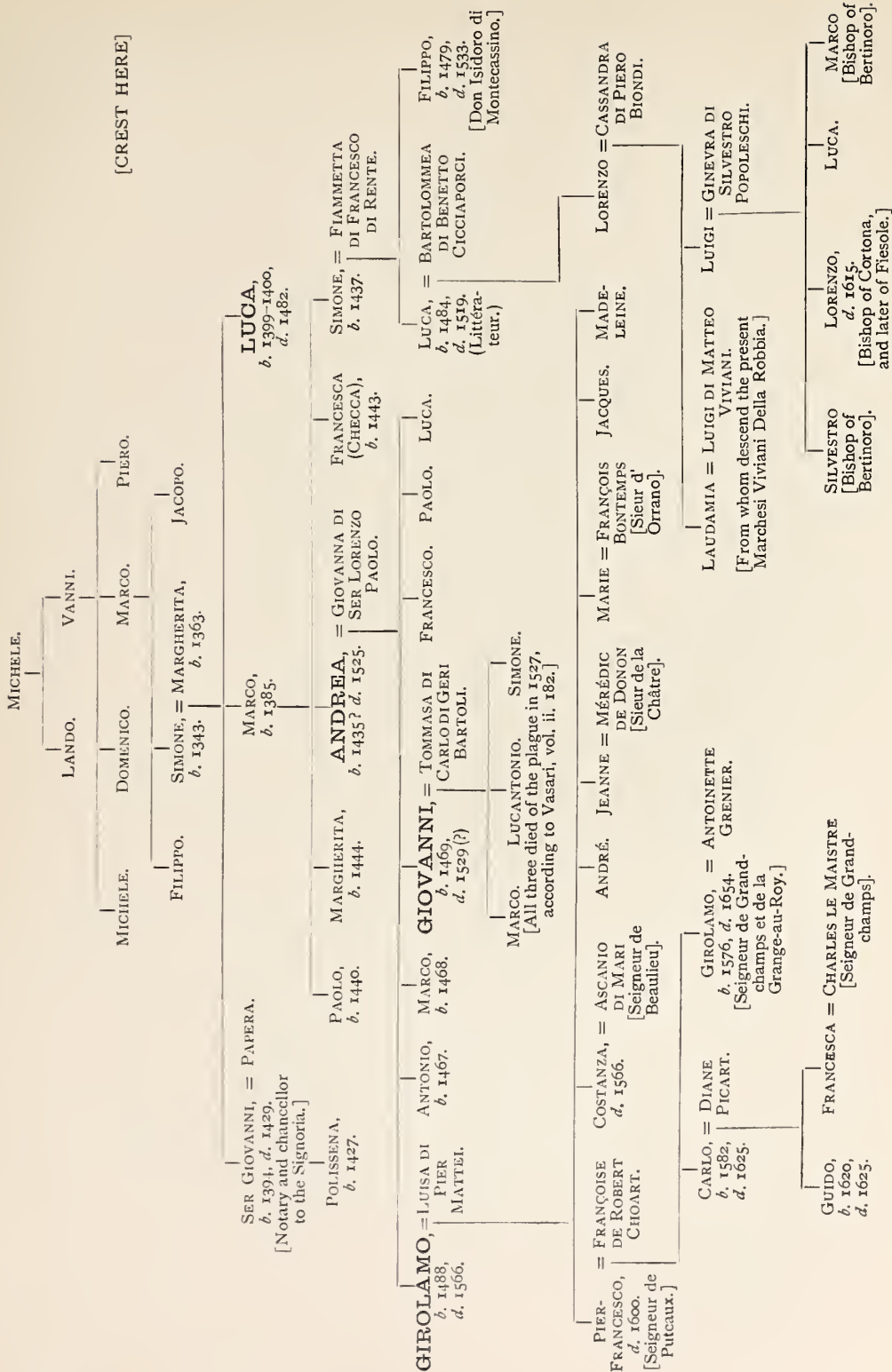
Thus closes the history of the Robbia family, a dynasty unique in the chronicles of art, and with them closes the history of the art itself, traced through all its vicissitudes. It had its birth in the best years of the Revival of Sculpture, and followed with the other branches of art the natural course of *décadence*. From Luca with his classic ideals to Girolamo with his housebuilder's aims is a wide stretch, yet the Château de Madrid was begun but a century later than the Cantoria. In little more than a hundred years the art had been born, had matured, and had died—a death from which no modern effort seems able to resuscitate it. The strength if not the genius of Luca descended in some measure to his successors. Giovanni was not destitute of it, much as he misused it. The recumbent statue of Catherine de Médicis proves that Girolamo also was not without some spark of genius and power. But each was the child of his epoch, and the decline of the art was due rather to environment and irresistible tide-pressure than to individual failure or lack of strength in the men themselves.

A very great art perhaps it was not which they exploited, but without it we should be the poorer—without it Tuscany would be robbed of much of its charm. Its full worth can be appreciated only in its original setting, brightening the dim chapel, the wayside shrine, and discoloured wall; in the museum, where unfortunately we mostly see it, its charm is lost. No other works suffer so much by juxtaposition with their kind as the Robbia enamels, for the art is essentially a decorative one, to be used with restraint and much dependent on the soberness of its surroundings. It is an art created for the country of sunshine, born of the desire for cool surface and soft hues, at home only in the land of its birth, and the one spot for which the artist intended it, “*cosa singolare*” and, as Vasari appreciated, “*molto utile per la state.*”

PART IV

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DELLA ROBBIA FAMILY

APPENDIX I



APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF LUCA DELLA ROBBIA¹

1399-1400 . . .	Luca della Robbia was born. [Doc. i.]
1431	Commission for Cantoria. [Doc. ii. 1.]
1434	Commission with Donatello to prepare model for Head to be placed in the Cupola of Duomo. [Doc. iii.]
1437, 30 May .	Commission for Campanile Reliefs. [Doc. iv. 1.]
1438, 20 April .	Commission for the Altars of S. Peter and S. Paul for the Tribuna, Duomo. [Doc. v.]
1438, 28 Aug. .	Cantoria already in its place over the Sacristy Door. [Doc. ii. 24.]
1439, 10 March .	Final payment for Campanile Reliefs. [Doc. iv. 3.]
1441	Tabernacle for the Chapel of S. Luke, S. Maria Nuova, now in Peretola, already begun. [Doc. vi.]
1443	Commission for Resurrection, Duomo. [Milanesi, Prospetto Cronologico. Vas., ii. 201.]
1446, 28 Feb. .	Commission for Bronze Doors. [Doc. x.]
1446, 31 Aug. .	Luca and his brother Marco buy the house in Via Guelfa of Lippo di Biagio of Peretola. [Doc. xvi.]
1446, 11 Oct. .	Commission for Ascension, Duomo. [Doc. vii.]
1448, 28 June .	Part payment for Two Angels bearing Candelabra, now in Sagrestia Vecchia, Duomo. [Doc. viii.]
1448	Decorations of the Chapel of the Crucifix, S. Mini- ato. [Chapel erected by Michelozzo, 1448.]
1449	Lunette of S. Domenico, Urbino, begun. [Milanesi, Pros. Cron. Vas., ii. 201.]
1449	Makes a <i>Puttino</i> for the door of the Cancelleria in the Palazzo de' Priori, Florence. [Milanesi, Pros. Cron. Vas., ii. 201.]
1451	Luca makes his Declaration of Property to the Catasto. [Doc. xiv.]

¹ The authority for each statement is inserted in brackets.

- 1451, 30 June . Part payment for Ascension. [Doc. vii. 3.]
- 1451, 5 Aug. . Bernardo Gamberelli and Pagno di Lapo Portigiani da Fiesole estimate the Ascension at 500 lire and the Angels at 90 lire. [Milanesi, Pros. Cron. Vas., ii. 202.]
- 1453 Stemma of René d'Anjou probably executed. (See p. 102.)
- 1454, 2 March . Commission for Tomb of Federighi, Bishop of Fiesole. [Doc. xviii.]
- 1456 Tomb of Federighi already completed. [Doc. xvi.]
- 1457 Luca makes his Declaration of Property to the Catasto. [Doc. xvi.]
- 1457 The heirs of Marco, Luca's brother deceased, make Declaration of the Property inherited by them to the Catasto. [Doc. xvii.]
- 1459, 21 July . Andrea Lazzari Cavalcanti appointed by the Mercatanzia to judge between Luca and the heirs of Bishop Federighi about payment for Tomb. [Doc. xviii. 1.]
- 1459, 6 August . Andrea Cavalcanti gives judgment in favour of Luca. [Doc. xviii. 2.]
- 1461, 9 April . Maso di Bartolommeo being dead, his brother Giovanni is chosen to assist Luca and Michelozzo in the work of the Bronze Doors. [Doc. xii.]
- 1463, "Jan. or } Commission for Stemma of Mercatanzia, Or S.
Feb." . . } Michele. [Doc. xix.]
- 1463, 28 Sept. . Part payment for Stemma of Mercatanzia, Or S. Michele. [Doc. xix.]
- 1464, 10 Aug. . Michelozzo being absent, the completion of the Bronze Doors is handed over entirely to Luca. [Doc. xiii.]
- 1466, 30 Oct. . Part payment—50 florins—for Bronze Doors. [Doc. xiii. 2.]
- 1467, 4 Nov. . Payment to Verrocchio for metal lent to Luca and Michelozzo in casting the two last panels of Bronze Doors. [Cavallucci, "S. Maria del Fiore," p. 136.]
- 1468, 30 June . Payment of other 20 florins for Bronze Doors. [Doc. xiii. 3.]
- 1471, 19 Feb. . Luca makes his Testament. [Doc. xxii.]
- 1471, 4 Aug. . Luca refuses office of President of Guild of Masters in Wood and Stone. [Doc. xxiii.]
- 1474, 27 June . Receives final payment for Bronze Doors. [Milanesi, Pros. Cron. Vas., ii. 202.]

- 1480 Luca makes his last Declaration of Property to the
Catasto. [Doc. xxiv.]
1482 Dies and is buried in S. Pier Maggiore.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF
ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA AND OF HIS FAMILY.

- 1435 Andrea della Robbia born. [Doc. xvii. See
Note, p. 25.]
1457 Andrea with his co-heirs makes Declaration of
Property after his father's death to the
Catasto. [Doc. xvii.]
1463-1466 . . Andrea executes Decorations for Loggia of
Innocenti Hospital. (See p. 152.)
1465 Andrea receives dowry (266 florins) with his wife,
Giovanna di Piero di Ser Lorenzo di Paolo.
[Doc. xx.]
1467 Andrea's son Antonio born. [Doc. xxi.]
1468 Andrea's son Marco born. [Doc. xxi.]
1469 Andrea's son Giovanni born. [Doc. xxi.]
1470 Andrea makes Declaration of Property to the
Catasto. [Doc. xxi.]
1470, 2 Nov. . Andrea's son Paolo born. [Milanesi, Albero dei
Della Robbia. Vas., ii. 186.]
1471 Andrea's Lunette—the Archangel Michael now in
Brunswick—placed over entrance of Church
of S. Michele Archangelo, Faenza. [See
Anselmi, "Arch. Stor. dell' Arte," 1895, p.
444.]
1475, 25 Aug. . Andrea's son Luca born. [Milanesi, Albero. Vas.,
ii. 186.]
1488, 9 March . Andrea's son Girolamo born. [Milanesi, Albero.
Vas., ii. 186.]
1489 Andrea executes Lunette—Madonna and Saints—
for Duomo, Prato. [Dated 1489.]
1489, 2 Sept. . Payment to Andrea for Lunette—Madonna and
Angels—for the Opera del Duomo. [Caval-
lucci, "S. Maria del Fiore," p. 136.]
Circa 1491 . . Andrea with Giovanni executes the Decorations
of the Madonna delle Carceri, Prato. (See
p. 185.)
1491, 24 Jan. . Commission from Opera del Duomo for Wooden
Crucifix. [Doc. xxvii. 1.]

- 1491, 23 April . Payment to Andrea of 5 florins for Wooden Crucifix. [Doc. xxvii. 2.]
- 1491, 29 April . Said Crucifix estimated at 5 florins. [Doc. xxvii. 3.]
- 1491, 21 June . Certain Domenico Spinelli commissioned by authorities of Opera del Duomo to be Andrea's assistants in some work not specified. [Doc. xxviii.]
- 1492, 15 Sept. . Andrea buys vineyard in Via Guelfa adjoining his house. Also another house therein, which he lets. [Doc. xxix.]
- 1495 Fra Ambrogio takes Dominican habit in the Convent of S. Marco. (See p. 255.)
- 1497 Giovanni executes Lavabo for Sacristy of S. Maria Novella. [Milanesi, Commentary. Vas., ii. 193.]
- 1498 Andrea makes Declaration of Property to the Catasto. [Doc. xxix.]
- 1498, 12 April . Andrea's son, Fra Luca, interrogated in Process of Savonarola. [Arch. Stor. It. III., 200-202.]
- 1498, 18 April . Further interrogation of Fra Luca della Robbia. [Ibid.]
- 1499 Luca della Robbia the Younger executes Madonna now in Sale Borgia, Vatican, Rome. [Dated 1499.]
- 1501 Giovanni della Robbia executes Last Judgment, Volterra. [Dated 1501.]
- 1501 Andrea decorates a Chapel of the Convent of S. Frediano, Florence. [Milanesi, Commentary. Vas., ii. 192.]
- 1502 Giovanni executes Madonna della Cintola for the Church of Foiano. [Dated 1502.]
- 1504 Fra Ambrogio della Robbia executes Presepio for the Church of S. Spirito, Siena. [Doc. xxx.]
- 1505, July 26 to Aug. 24 { Andrea and Giovanni stay in Pistoja to superintend collocation and gilding of Duomo Tympanum. [Doc. xxxiii.]
- 1505, Aug. 26 . Payment to Andrea for Pistoja Tympanum. [Doc. xxxi.]
- 1509, 11 Oct. . Payment to Andrea for Lunette over entrance of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini, Viterbo, now in Museo. [Doc. xxxii.]
- 1510, 7 Feb. . Payment to Andrea for Bust of Almadiano, Viterbo. [Doc. xxxii.]

- 1513 Payment to Giovanni for Altarpiece of S. Medardo, Arcevia. [Doc. xxxiii.]
- 1515, 22 Sept. . Collocation of Presepio "*facto per mano di Andrea della Robbia*," in S. Maria Maddalena, Pian di Mugnone. [Doc. xxxiv.]
- 1518, 5 Aug. . Payment to "Maestro" Luca della Robbia for Pavement of Vatican Loggia. [Doc. xxxvi. 1.]
- 1518, 18 Aug. . Commission to Giovanni for Altarpiece for S. Marco di Calcesana, Pisa, now in Campo Santo. [Doc. xxxv.]
- 1518, 10 Sept. . Payment to Frate della Robbia for Pavement of Vatican Loggia. [Doc. xxxvi. 2.]
- 1520 Giovanni, with assistants, completes Altarpiece for S. Marco di Calcesana, Pisa. [Dated 1520.]
- 1521 Giovanni, with assistants, executes Nativity for Convent of S. Girolamo delle Poverine, now in Bargello. [Signed and dated 1521.]
- 1521 Giovanni executes statue of S. Romolo for Bishop of Fiesole, now in Duomo, Fiesole. [Dated 1521.]
- 1522, 9 July . . Commission by Cardinal Armellini Medici to Fra Mattia della Robbia for Altarpiece. [Doc. xxxvii.]
- 1522 Giovanni executes for the Confraternity of the Kingdom of Bethlehem the Tabernacle, Via Nazionale. [Dated 1522.]
- 1522 Giovanni, with assistants, executes for the Certosa di Val d'Ema sixty-seven Medallions with Heads of Saints, &c. [Milanesi Commentary, Vas., ii. 192.]
- 1524, 4 June . . Commission by Alberto Serra, Apostolic Notary, to Fra Mattia della Robbia for Tondo—Madonna. [Doc. xxxviii.]
- 1525-1529 . . Payments to Giovanni for work in Pistoja (Decorations of Ospedale del Ceppo). (See Letter from Milanesi to Cavallucci, quoted p. 245.)
- 1527 Giovanni's three sons, Marco, Lucantonio, and Simone, die of plague. [Vas., ii. 182.]
- 1528, 4 Aug. . Andrea dies and is buried, near Luca, in S. Pier Maggiore. (See p. 28.)
- 1529 ? Giovanni della Robbia dies. [Milanesi, Albero dei Della Robbia. Vas., ii. 186.]
- 1530, 5 Feb. . . First payment to Girolamo della Robbia for the Château de Madrid. [Doc. xxxix.]

- 1536, 22 Feb. Girolamo buys a house at Puteaux-les-Suresnes.
[Doc. xl.]
- 1547, 17 Feb. Girolamo and Luca della Robbia are exempted by
Francis I. from all taxes. [Doc. xlii.]
- 1550 Last payments to Girolamo for the Château de
Madrid during reign of Henri II. [Doc. xxxix.
10.]
- 1553 ? Girolamo returns to Florence. [Vas., ii. 183.]
- 1559, 10 Sept. Jules, infant son of Costanza della Robbia,
Girolamo's daughter, married to Ascanio di
Maria, dies. [Doc. xliv. 1.]
- 1560 Renewed payments for the Château de Madrid,
under Francis II. [Doc. xxxix. 11.]
- 1560, 15 June François, another son of Costanza della Robbia,
dies. [Doc. xliv. 2.]
- 1563 Last payment to Girolamo for the Château de
Madrid. [Doc. xxxix. 13.]
- 1566, 1 Aug. Costanza della Robbia dies and is buried in the
Church of Saint - André - des - Arcs, Paris.
[Doc. xliv. 3.]
- 1566 Girolamo della Robbia dies and is buried in the
Church of Saint - André - des - Arcs, Paris.
[Doc. xlv.]

APPENDIX III

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¹ ¹ Omission.—DU CERCEAU, Androuet. *Les plus excellents Bastiments de France*. Paris, 1586. (This work is of importance, as it contains nine elaborate plates of the Château de Madrid, showing ground-plan, *façades*, and several details of chimney-pieces, doorways, &c., from which a fair idea of the style of decoration can be gathered.)

APPENDIX IV

DOCUMENTS

THE following documents have been collected from various sources, chiefly Cavallucci et Molinier, "Les Della Robbia," and Gaye, "Carteggio Inedito." Many however are printed for the first time, most of those referring to the Cantoria, to the wooden Crucifix made by Andrea, Simone della Robbia's Portata to the Catasto of 1427, and that of the heirs of Marco Della Robbia to the Catasto of 1457. Most of those contained in the State Archives of Florence and in the Archives of the Opera del Duomo have been corrected from the original documents with the kind help of the Directors and of Dr. Gronau. Many of the latter have been transcribed in MSS. by the late Professor Luigi del Moro, architect of the Opera del Duomo, but have not before been printed.

The arrangement of the documents, for purposes of reference, is chronological.

DOCUMENT I

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1427, DI SIMONE DI MARCO DELLA ROBBIA,
GONFALONE CHIAVE, QUARTIERE S. GIOVANNI

1427. "Questa è la rechata di Simone di Marco della robbia e de figliuoli prestanziati in decto gonfalone in fiorini quattro soldi quattordici et danari cinque.

"In prima una chasa dal lavoratore con palchi sala camera e terreno posta nel popolo di santa maria del tartigliese valdarno di sopra contado di firenze nel borgho del tartigliese nella publica confinata a 1° decta strada, a 2° via, a 3° nicholo di giovanni del bellaccio, a 4° marchio del bello del bellaccio.

.
"Abbiamo a pigione una chasa con sale, palche, camere, terreno, nella quale noi abitiamo, posta nel popolo di S. piero maggiore nella via di sangilio (S. Egidio).

.
"Item uno podere con chasa da signore e dallavoratore con terre lavoratie ulivate, arboriate, vignate, e con pergole e

con alberi fructiferi e non fructiferi, posto nel contado di firenze nel popolo di Santommè (San Tommaso) a Baroncelli loro decto a baroncelli, confinato a 1° l'erede di Francescho di Duccio Meltini, via in mezzo, a 2° filippo di Simone e il fratello fossatello in mezzo, a 3° maso da vizi, a 4° via.

Simone di marchio sopradecto deta d'anni	84
M° margherita dona dello decta simone d'anni	64
Marchio di Simone d'anni	42
Ser Giovanni di Simone d'anni	33
Lucha di Simone d'anni	27
M° Papera donna del decto Ser Giovanni d'anni	26
Pulisena figliuola di Ser Giovanni nacque a dì primo di Settembre, 1427.	

10 Luglio, 1427."

(Portata al Catasto, 1427. Quartiere S. Giovanni-Chiave, Arch. di Stato di Firenze, No. 59.)

DOCUMENT II

THE CANTORIA

(1)

1431, 4 d'ottobre. "Confirmaverunt quandam emptionem factam provisoriam opere cuidam Luce Simonis Marci della Robbia pro pretio librarum decem et soldorum de quodam marmore albo."—(Deliberazioni dei Consoli e Operaj, 1425-1436, a carta 149.)

(2)

1432, 9 Aprile. "Lucha di Simone di Marcho della robia maestro d'intaglio de avere f. sei doro allui prestati in sulavorio del perghamo degli orghani debe fare all' opera in tutto . . . f. 6."—(Marrai, *Le Cantorie di Luca della Robbia e di Donatello*. Firenze, 1900, p. 5.)

(3)

1432, 29 Aprile. "Conduxerunt in magistrum opere ad laborandum cornices perghami locati ad faciendum Luce Simonis Marci della Robbia pro eo salario quod declarabitur per caput magistrum opere Caprinum. Dominici Justi de Settignano."—(Delib. cit. a carta 158 fo.)

(4)

- 1432, 19 Maggio. "Ordinano a conduttori del marmo bianco di condurre quella quantità che dirà loro Luca della Robbia magister pergami."—(Delib. cit. a c. 208 fo.)

(5)

- 1432, 11 Luglio. "Quod capudmagister opere . . . fieri faciat locum inceptum per caput magistrum in quo stare debeat ad laborandum laborerium perghami eidem Luce locatum per dictos operarios Lucus Marci Simonis della Robbia."—(Delib. cit. a c. 191.)

(6)

- 1432, 29 Nov. "Delib. quod dictus Caputmagister dare teneatur Luce Marci della Robbia medietatem cuiusdam lapidis recise pro faciendo tabulas perghami," etc.—(Delib. cit. a c. 191.)

(7)

- 1432, 9 Dicembre. "Ad faciendum fieri sepulturam Sancti Zenobii locatam Laurentio Bartaluccii et altare prefati santi locatum Filippo ser Brunelleschi et unum par orghanorum locatum Matteo de Prato et pergamum orghanorum locatum Luce Marci della Robbia."—(Delib. cit. a c. 192.)

(8)

- 1433, 19 Maggio. "Quod conductores marmoris albi opere teneantur et debeant ad instantiam Luce Simonis della Robbia . . . conducere pro perghamo opere illam quantitatem marmoris qua dictus Lucas indigeret . . ."—(Delib. cit. a c. 198.)

(9)

- 1433, 23 Dicembre. "A Nanni di Miniato, detto Fora, lire 40 piccole . . . per sua fatica in avere fatto braccia 40 di chornice del perghamo, che fa al presente Lucha di Simone della Robbia."—(Deliberazioni e Stanziamenti l'anno 1433, a c. 3.)

(10)

- 1433, 30 Dicembre. "Danno a condurre da Carrara—unam lapidem maiorem lapidibus sepulturarum, etc., pro perghamo quem actualiter facit Donatus Nicolai magister intagli alias Donatello—et duos petios marmoris, etc., pro perghamo quem facit Lucas Simonis della Robbia."—(Delib. cit. a c. 208 fo.)

(11)

- 1434, 24 Gennaio (N.S., 1435). "Delib. che il Provved. cum consilio Chimentis . . . dirigere teneatur rationem Luce della Robbia et Laurentii Bartolucci et aliorum qui laborant pro factis opere in pergamis et aliter, etc., et annullaverunt commissionem datam dictis Matteo et sociis."¹—(Delib. cit. a c. 226.)

(12)

- 1434, 26 Agosto. "Extimaverunt et extimationem fecerunt quatuor petia seu quatuor petiis storiarum cuiusdam perghami locati Luce Simonis Marci della Robbia videlicet duo maiora et duo minora videlicet quolibet petium maius florenis sexaginta et quolibet petium minus florenis triginta quinque," etc.—(Delib. cit. a c. 221.)

(13)

- 1435, 22 Aprile. "Considerantes quasdam storias marmois factas ad instantiam opere per Lucam Simonis Marci della Robbia pro uno perghamo . . . et advertentes ad quodam pretium alias factum . . . quibusdam storiis dicti perghami per eum factis et considerantes dictum Lucam fecisse certas alias storias dicti perghami qui nondum fuerunt extimate et in quibus maiorem laborem et longuis tempus misit, et quod in magisterio dicte storie, quam facit ad presens, sunt pulciores ac meliores, id circo . . . deliberavunt . . . solve pro qualibet storia facta et nondum extimata . . . florenos auri septuaginta et pro qualibet storia minori illud minus quod tangeret pro rata cuiuslibet storie," etc.—(Delib. cit. a c. 230.)

(14)

- 1435, 14 Dicembre. "Delib. quod caput magister opere octavi faciat unum locum in opera ubi Lucas Simonis Marco della Robbia laborare debeat perghamum de marmore tibi locatum."—(Delib. cit. a c. 245.)

(15)

- 1437, 9 Aprile. "A Lucha di Simone della Robbia maestro d'intaglia f. cinquanta d'oro sono per parte di paghamento di uno perghamo che fa a istanza dell' opera di marmo . . . f. 50."

¹ On the margin of this document is written, "Et al quorum rationes sunt sub nomine Mattei de Strocis et sociorum."

(16)

- 1437, 30 Maggio. "Delib. quod Batista caputmag dicte opere poliri faciat omnes figuras que sunt miste cum marmore opere in laborerio dicte opere in terra per Lucam Simonis della Robbia et postea reponi faciat in loco preheminentis ut non devastentur."—(Delib. cit. a c. 18.)

(17)

- 1437, 3 Agosto. "Luce Simonis Marci della Robbia magistro intagli florin. auri triginta pro parte solutionis perghami di marmore figurato fecit ad instantiam opere . . . f. xxx."—(Delib. cit. a c. 86.)

(18)

- 1437, 30 d'ottobre. "A Luca di Simone della robbia maestro d'intaglio f. quaranta d'oro per parte di pagamento d'un perghamo di marmo figurato e storiato che fa a istanza dell' opera per la chiesa maggiore . . . f. 40."—(Delib. cit. a c. 23.)

(19)

- 1437, 19 Dicembre. "A Lucha di Simone della robbia maestro d'intaglio f. cento cinquanta d'oro per parte di pagamento d'uno perghamo di marmo con figure fa a istanza dell' opera per una delle due Sagrestie della chiesa maggiore di Firenze . . . f. 150."—(Delib. cit. a c. 266.)

(20)

- 1438, 20 Marzo. "Deliberavunt quod provisor opere scribat ad librum opere in creditorem de opere Lucam Simonis Marci della Robbia pro infrascriptis quantitativibus pecunie videlicet : pro quinque becchatellis cum cimasiis pergami di marmore facti in Ecclesia maiori ad rationem florenorum auri dicemsettem sold. quattuor et denariorum duorum ad aurum pro quolibet becchatello cum cimasia ;

et ad rationem florenorum quadraginta quinque sold. quattuordecimi et denariorum trium ad aurum pro otto menbris accanalatis et basis et capitellis in totum ;

et ad rationem florenorum auri quattuor sold. trium et denariorum quattuor pro una cornice grossa cum litteris et cum litteris et cum dentellis in totum brachiorum quattuordecim et unius sexti alterius brachii pro quolibet brachio ;

et ad rationem florenorum auri quattuor pro una cornice grossa sine dentellis alinguazzata brachiorum quattuordecim et quattuor quintorum brachii pro quolibet brachio ;

et ad rationem librarum quattuor unius fregi cum litteris
brachiorum novem et unius tertii brachii pro quolibet brachio ;

et ad rationem librarum trium et sold. decem pro una
cornice que vadit in totum brachiorum sex et unius quarti
alterius brachii pro quolibet brachio ;

et ad rationem soldorum decemsettem pro una coreggina
marmoris albi brachiorum duodecim, pro quolibet brachio ;

et in totum fiorenorum ducentorum sexaginta sex et
sold. otto ad aurum."¹—(Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo.
Transcribed in Catalogue of Museo, p. 13.)

(21)

1438, 30 Aprile. "A Luca di Simone della Robbia f. cinquanta d'oro
per parte del perghamo a intagliato . . . f. 50."

(22)

1438, 26 Maggio. "A Lucha di Simone di Marcho della Robbia
maestro d'intaglio f. quaranta d'oro sono per parte di
paghamento del perghamo a fatto nella chiesa maggiore
. . . f. 40."

(23)

1438, 28 Agosto. "A Lucha di Simone di Marcho della Robbia
intagliatore f. quarantadue e soldi 8 a oro, e quali denari
gli si danno pe' resto d'intagliatura e maestero del perghamo
del marmo ch'è posto e murato nella chiesa maggiore sopra
l'uscio della sagrestia di verso i servi . . . f. 42, e soldi,
8."—(Bastardello di Stanziamenti, segnato DD. Quoted by
Marrai, "Le Cantorie di Luca della Robbia e di Donatello,"
Firenze, 1900, pp. 8 and 9.)

*Besides the above documents there are records of no less than eleven
payments made to Luca for the Cantoria (cited by Carl Frey, "Il Codice
Magliabecchiano," Berlin, 1892, pp. 308–312, as follows):—*

1433, 23 Dec. Payment of ten florins to Luca.

1433 (N.S., 1434), 15 Jan. Payment of ten florins.

1433 (N.S., 1434), 13 Feb. Payment of ten florins.

1433 (N.S., 1434), 18 March. Payment of ten florins.

1434, 2 June. Payment of twenty-five florins.

1434, 17 Dec. Payment of thirty florins.

1435, 1 April. Payment of ten florins.

1435, 26 April. Payment of fifty florins.

¹ The above document is of special interest as being the guide taken by Professor del Moro in his restoration of the Cantoria.

- 1435, 29 April. Payment to the purveyor of marble, Nanni di Piero di Tuccio, "de marmore quod facit pro perghamo Luce," &c.
 1435, 30 June. Payment of twenty florins to Luca.
 1435, 26 Aug. Payment of forty florins.
 1435, 7 Dec. Payment of forty florins.

DOCUMENT III

HEAD TO BE PLACED IN CUPOLA OF DUOMO

1434. "Nobiles viri . . . operarii . . . deliberaverunt quod Donatus Nicolai aurifex intagli et Lucas Simonis Marci della Robbia quilibet eorem facere teneatur unam testam . . . in formam modelli prout eis et cuilibet eorum videbitur melius et pulchrius predicta opera pro fieri faciendo postea in gula clausura cupola magne in lapidibus dicte gule unam testam seu formam modelli capiendi per eorum officium ex pulcrioribus quas facient pro dicto modello et hoc quantum melius fieri potuerit et expensis ipsis opere."—(Deliberazioni dei Consoli e Operaj. Quoted by Cavallucci, "Santa Maria del Fiore," p. 136.)

DOCUMENT IV

RELIEFS OF CAMPANILE

(1)

- 1437, 30 Maggio. "Locaverunt Luce Simonis della Robbia ad faciendum storias marmoris que deficiunt in Campanile maioris Ecclesii Florentine pro eo pretio quod declarabitur per eorum offitium."—(Delib. dei Consoli e Operaj. A carta 18.)

(2)

- 1438, 2 Dicembre. "A Lucha di Simone della Robbia intagliatore f. trenta d'oro per parte di paghamento di certi chompassi che fa di marmo a iztanza dell' opera che s'anno a montare nel Champanile . . . f. 30."—(Bastardello di stanziamenti segnato DD. A c. 44 r.)

(3)

- 1438 (N.S., 1439), 10 Marzo. "A Lucha di Simone della Robbia intagliatore fiorini settanta d'oro sono per prezzo di fior. 100 d'oro

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e quali danari a lui si danno per resto di pagamento di cinque storie di marmo per lui fatte e intagliate a istanza dell' opera, le quali s'anno a montare nel Champanile dalla parte di verso la Chiesa per prezzo di f. 20 d'oro l'una . . . f. 70."—(Bast. DD. A c. 51 r. The last two extracts quoted by Marrai, "Le Cantorie," p. 7.)

DOCUMENT V

MARBLE ALTAR FOR THE CHAPEL OF S. PETER

(1)

1439, 20 Aprile. "In cappella sub tituli Sancti Pieri apostoli unum altare marmoris longitudinis et largitudinis secundum modellum lignei, etc. . . . cum tribus compassis in facie anteriori, uno in quolibet testa in quibus sunt storie Sancti Petri predicti prout dabuntur ei, etc. . . . Secundam altare videlicet in cappella titulata in Sanctum Paulum . . . secundum modellum . . . quod factum fuit per Donatum, quod habet videlicet super quatuor colonis et in parte intus cum forma ovale et cum storiis seu figuris circum circha Sancti Pauli predicti," etc.—(Archives of S. Maria del Fiore. Quoted by Carl Frey, "Il Codice Magliabecchiano," p. 312, who notes, "The text given by Rumohr, 'It. Forsch,' ii. p. 363, is full of misreadings.")

(2)

1441, 5 Sept. "A Lucha . . . per insino a dì 12 d'Aprile 1439 fu allogghato a fare 2 Altari di marmo nella tribuna di Santo Zanobi secondo cierto disegno a conto in presta fior 20 d'oro."—(Archives, EE, p. 736. Quoted by Carl Frey as above.)

In 1439, 23 Nov., another payment of twenty florins to Luca is recorded.

DOCUMENT VI

TABERNACLE OF PERETOLA

(1)

1441. "Lucha di Simone della Robbia, maestro d'intaglio, de dare adì 4 d'aghosto fior. venti, portò contanti, sono per parte d'un tabernacolo di marmo per tenere il chorpo di Cristo nella cappella di S. Lucha; a uscita . . . C. 66, Fior. 20.

- E adì 20 di gennaio fior. 6, portò contanti a uscita . . .
C. 95, Fior. 6.
- E adì 15 di febbraio fior. 12, portò contanti a uscita
. . . C. 101, Fior. 12.
- E adì 17 di marzo fior. 10, portò di detto a uscita
. . . C. 104, Fior. 10.
- E dè dare adì 7 d'Aprile 1442 fior. 10, portò contanti a
uscita . . . C. 107, Fior. 10.
- E adì 16 di maggio fior. 30, portò contanti a spesa; anzi
li paghano per lui ad Ant. di Cristofano ch'è al lavoro
collui . . . C. 114, Fior. 30.
- E adì 2 giugno fior. 10, portò contanti a uscita . . . C. 116,
Fior. 10.
- E adì detto lire quaranta, soldi 10 posto l'opera di Santa
Maria del Fiore dare in questo C. 103, sono per 7 pezzi
di marmo di lib. 5400 per soldi 15 et % e erano auti
dalla detta opera che se n'havessi a far debitore detto
Lucha . . . Fior. $\frac{9 \quad 1}{107 \quad 1} \quad 16.$

(2)

1442. "Lucha di Simone della Robbia de' dare fior cientosette, lira 1,
soldi 16, portò de' avere in questo C. 69 sono per chagione
del tabernacholo dove sta el chorpo di Cristo nella cap-
pella di Santo Lucha, il quale perfecie detto Lucha: Fior.
107 1 16."

(3)

1443. "Lucha di Simone della Robbia, maestro d'intaglio, de' dare
fior. 107 1 16; i quali ha hauti contanti levati dal libro
vecchio de' debitore B.C. 255 . . . Fior. 107 1 16. I detti
danari sono per cagione del tabernacolo del marmo dove si
tiene il corpo di Cristo nella cappella di Santo Lucha, che
n'ha a esser pagato."—(Libro debitori e creditori. Arch.
di S. Maria Nuova. Quoted by Cavallucci and Molinier,
pp. 187, 188.)

DOCUMENT VII

RELIEF OF ASCENSION, DUOMO

(1)

1446. "Die xi mensis octobris. Operarii antedicti . . . locaverunt
et concesserunt, etc. Luce Simonis della Robbia scultore
presenti et conducenti ad faciendum: Unam storiam terri

cocte invetriate illius materie qua est illa posita in arcu sacrestie. Que storia debet esse videlicet. Ascensio Domine Nostri Jhesu Christi, cum duodecim figuris apostolorum et matris ejus Virginis Marie. Et quod mons sit sui coloris, arbores etiam sui coloris et secundum designum factum in quodam modello parvo, qui stare debet in opera usque ad perfectionem dicti laborerii et melius, si melius fieri potest. Quam storiā debet perfecisse hinc a decto mensis proximos futuros et posuisse super archum secunde sacristie. Et pro qua storia et magisterio debet abere et pro suo magisterio labore et industria illud quod declaratum erit per offitium operariorum venturorum in officio existentium," etc.—(Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo, fo. 54. Quoted by Rumohr, "Italienische Forschungen," ii. pp. 364, 365.)

(2)

1450, 23 Dicembre. "Luca Simonis della Robbia lib. 150 pro parte locationis sibi facte de calmo supra secundam sacrestiam."—(Delib. dei Consoli e Operaj, a c. 17.)

(3)

1451, 30 Giugno. "Luce Simonis della Robbia libras centum 50 pro parte solutionis unius storie per eum facte super archetto secunde sacristie."—(Delib. cit. a c. 47 fo.)

DOCUMENT VIII

TWO ANGELS BEARING CANDELABRA

1448, 28 Giugno. "Luce Simonis della Robbia intagliatori f. 40 pro parte den. abere debet pro duodus angelis de terra factis pro tenendo in Capella Corporis Jesi."—(Delib. dei Consoli e Operaj, a c. 91.)

DOCUMENT IX

COMMISSION TO DONATELLO OF BRONZE DOORS

(1)

1436 (N.S., 1437), Feb. 21. "Item comisserunt Nicolao Johanotti de Biliottis et Salito Jacobi di Risalitis duabus ex eorum offitio locandi Donato Niccolai Betti Bardi civi Florentino magistro intagli faciendo duas portas di bronzo duabus novis sacristiis cathedralis ecclesie florentine pro pretio in totum

flor. 1900 pro eo tempore et cum illis pactis et storiis et modis prout eis videbitur fore utilius et honorabilius pro dicta opera et quidquid fecerint circa predictum intelligatur et sit ac si factum foret per totum eorum officium."—(Delib. dei Consoli e Operaj, a c. 21.)

(2)

1436 (N.S., 1437), 14 Feb. "Delib. quod prov. de opere teneatur et debeat locare Donato Niccolai magistro intagli unam ex duabus sacristiis novis maioris ecclesie florentine de bronzo, cum illis pactis modis et conditionibus tempore et pretio, prout declarabitur per Niccolaum Johanotti di Biliottis et Salitum Jacobi de Risalitus duos ex officio ipsorum operariorum," etc.—(Delib. cit. a c. 12.)

DOCUMENT X

THE BRONZE DOORS

1445 (N.S., 1446). "Anno domini ab ejus incarnatione MCCCCXL quinto Ind. octava die vigesima ottava mensis februarii. Actum in audientia operariorum interiori presentibus testibus. . . . Nobiles prudentes viri Anfeione Laurentii Pieri Lenzi et Mattheus Antonii de Albertis operarii opere chathedralis ecclesie sante Marie del Fiore civitatis Florentiæ simul in audientia et locho eorum solite congregationis pro ipsorum offitis exercendo. Intellect. qualiter consules artis Lane . . . Intellect. locat. facte Donato Nicolai die xxvii. martii 1437 de duabus portis pro duabus sacrestius maioris Ecclesie Florentine et intellect. qualiter dictus Donatus dictas portas non fecit et justis de causis . . . Unam de dictis portis renoverunt a dicto Donato et concesserunt licentiam prefatis operariis dictam portam prime sacrestie locanda eis et quibus et pro eo pretio prout sibi videbitur. Quiquidem operarii visa predicta licentia omni modo locaverunt et concesserunt.

Ad faciendum unam portam bronzi pro prima sacrestia prout dic.

Michelozio Bartolomei populi sci Marci.

Luce Simonis Marci della robia et

Maso Bartolomei.

Sociis intaglioribus dictam portam modo et forma inferius descripta prout apparet per scriptum factum manu dicti Michelozii cujus tenor de verbo ad verbum talis est, vid.

Gli operai aluoghano et danno affare.

a Michelozo	}	una porta di bronzo per la prima sagrestia di
Luca et		santa maria del fiore di quella altezza et
Maso		larghezza chessaspetta et richiede alla forma
		gia data alla detta sagrestia. E di quella forma
		modo et ornamenti che mostra uno Modello al

presente è apresso al detto Michelozzo et compagni di questa forma. Et quale modello debba stare nella udientia di detti operai.

La detta porta di due pezzi. Et in ciaschuno pezo cinque quadri. vid. ornati di cornice doppie infrallequali cornici debbano i detti Maestri fare fregj piani lavorati alla damaschina doro et dariento solo come parrà a detti operai. Et in ciaschedun canto di detti quadri uno compassino entrovi una testa di profeta delle quali teste ne va docì in ciaschun lato. Et in ciaschuno de detti quadri tre figure cioè nel mezo di ciaschuno quadro uno tabernacolo di mezo rilievo lavorato alla damaschina come i detti fregj. Entrovi una figura assedere di mezo rilievo nominata, chosi, chenne prima due quadri di sopra, e nel primo da man ritta la figura di nostra donna col figliuolo in braccio, nell' altro la figura di santo Giovanni batista. Et in ciaschuno degli altri quadri, che restano otto la figura de vangelisti e dottori della chiesa. E ciaschuno con due angioletti ritti dallato fatti di mezo rilievo. E nerovescio di detta porta i medesimi quadri che daritto ricinti di cornici come di sopra et come mostra detto Modello senza alcuna figura o altri ornamenti.

Et promettono detti Michelozo Lucha et Maso tutte le dette cose fare et perfettamente conduciare a uso di buoni huomini infra tempo et termine di tre anni.

Et i detti operai debbano prestare al detto Michelozo, Lucha et Maso per supplimento del detto lavorio inanzi fior. dugento cinquanta.

Et dipoi per aumento dessa ciaschuno mese fior. venti-cinque. Prout apparet in dicta scritta. Et dicti operai dare dabeant dictis pro eorum magisterio et labore floren. auri Mille centum. Et quia in dicto Modello sunt addita certa ornamenta alla damaschina seminat. circha compassas et in tabernaculis dictarum figurarum que res non sunt comprese in superius pro qua aggiunta abere debent illud plus quod declarabitur per officiales operariorum pro tempore existentium. Et tenentur dicti operarii dare dictis Michelozo Luche et Maso pro faciendo predicta Materiam opportunam vid. bronzum, Argentum et Aurum pertinent. dict. port.,” etc. —(Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo. Libro Alloghagioni, fo. 51.)

DOCUMENT XI

BRONZE DOORS

1451, 31 Dicem. "Quod provisor opere describat in delib. de opere in Libro giallo—Micheloziū Bartolomei Lucam Simonis della Robbia et Tomasium Bartolomei, socios et conductores porte bronzi pro sacristia D. 63 con certo reparto fra loro."
—(Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo, a c. 71.)

DOCUMENT XII

BRONZE DOORS

1461, 9 Aprile. "In dei nomine Amen. Anno domini ab ejus salutifera Incarnatione Millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo. Ind. nona mensis Aprilis . . .

Egli è vera chosa chome Michelozo di Bartolomeo Lucha di Simone di Marcho della robbia	}	intagliatori avendo avvertenza a una allogagione alloro facta pegli operai
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di S. Mariae del Fiore insieme con Maso di bartolomeo ancora intagliatore oggi morto insino al anno 1445 et del mese di febrajo.

Una porta della prima sagrestia cioe di due lati con più ornamenti et lavorii come nella allogagione rogata per mano di me notaio infrascritto chiaramente apparisce.

Onde oggi questo di detto

Michelozo et Lucha sopradetti con protestatione nel principio mezo et fine del presente contracto apposto cheglino non intendono per questo atto et contracto essere piu o meno oblighati che erano inanzi al presente contracto sono contenti et di consentimento et volonta et in presentia de nobili huomini.

Giovanni di Domenicho Giugni Bartolomeo dagnolo Ciai	}	operai di detta opera a tutte le infrascripte cose consentienti aluoghano a
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Giovanni di Bartolomeo Intagliatore presente et conducente per se et con quella compagnia allui piacesse a.

Nettare detti Telai cioe dette due lati già gittati et commettere e battitoi di detta porta. Et ristorare se alcuno manchamento fusse a detti telai et qui lavorare. In tutto le loro parti dallato ritto et dallato rovescio e da tutte le sue parti bene e diligentemente a uso di di buono maestro. E

tutte predette chose fare Intorno a detti telai che di nicista sara intorno a quelli si et in tal modo che niuna chosa manchi se non rizarli alla detta Sagrestia.

Et sono daccordo detto Giovanni abbia per sua fatica et Maestero et Intero pagamento dogni chosa delle sopradette fiorini dugento correnti. E quali gloperai anno a pagaer a detto Giovanni o chi lui dicesse tempo per tempo chome lavora. E annosi a porre ab conto della condotta tolta delle dette porte per detti Michelozo et Lucha et Maso.

E piu sia addare per lopera a detto Giovanni à spesa dopera quella quantità di bronzo manhasse per avergli a ristorare in alcuna parte. E simile ara se bisogno navesse.

E debbe invece detto Giovanni per potere mettersi in punto di masscrie a tale lavorio appartenenti et opportune fior. dieci.

E debbe detto Giovanni lavorare o fare lavorare dette porte nell' opera. E lopera adattarlo di luogho ydoneo.

E detto Giovanni dar forniti detti telai come detto per di qui a mesi sedici e quali sedici mesi cominciano adi primo di maggio futuro MCCCCLXI.

E decti operai parendo loro possino prolungare per insino a Mesi quattro in una volta oppiù.

Actium in opera dicta dicta die presentibus testibus Laurentio Lapi, Johannis Nicholini, Johannis Francisci, domini Johannis de Zatis, Bernardo Mathei del borra capud magister cupole, et Maso Jacobi Suchieli capud magistro opere."—(Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo. Lib. Allog., fo. 72.)

DOCUMENT XIII

BRONZE DOORS

(1)

1464, Aug. 10. "Anno Millesimo quatringentesimo sexagesimo quarto . . . decimo Aghusti . . . Nobiles etc. . . . avere inteso che l'anno 1444 fu allogghato per loro Antecessori a Michelozzo di Bartolomeo Intagliatore et a Lucha di Simone della robbia et a Maso di Bartolomeo Intagliatore detto Masaccio una porta di due pezzi e con più ornamenti et pacti et modi come nella allogghatione si contiene per pregio et nome di pregio di fiorini 1100 doro come apare al presente libro indietro a carta 51. Et inteso che dette porte essere circha d'anni venti che niente non vi si lavoro. Et dipoi inteso che nel anno 1461 . . . di 9 daprile

di detto anno fu allogghato per gli operai con licentia et consentimento di detto Lucha a Giovanni di bartholomeo Intagliatore fratello di detto Maso a netare et raconciare detti telai et porte per pregio o nome di pregio di fiorini 200 doro come apare a detto libro allogghazione a carta 72. Et inteso detti telai et porte essere nette et bone et in perfetione raconci per conto l'allogghagione allui fatta. Et inteso che dipoi dopo la detta allogghagione dette porte sono poste dalato et dentro non vi si fare nulla. Et inteso detto Maso di bartholomeo essere morto piu anni sono. Et inteso detto Michelozzo essere absentato et non essere in questa parti et non ci avere a essere di questo . . . ne a questi tempi et nonne essere a Firenze se nonne detto Lucha. Et inteso che in quel tempo che detti telai e porte furono allogghate a detto Lucha michelozzo et maso loro avere anti anche di fiorini quatrocento o più. Et quelli glebbono Michelozzo et Maso et detto Lucha nonne avere avuto nulla come apare . . . libri di proveditori di detta opera et fior. 200 dati a detto Giovanni di Bartholomeo per detta nettatura. Et volendo detti operai che dette porte et telai abbino qualche volta Effetto et conciateli a perfetione. Et inteso la volonta di detto Lucha et vedendo detto Maso morto et detto Michelozzo absintato non veggendo alchuno modo che sia migliore piu benefico della detta opera et volendo che dette porte et telai abbino efetto che lusingna uscire della allogghagione presente che altrimenti si potrebbe far nulla et starebbe senza alchuno efetto et in danno et verghongna della detta opera . . . Et vedendo et considerando quello, etc. . . .

Alloggorono a detto Lucha presenti et conducenti et in suo nome proprio a finire et compiere dette porte che sieno in quella forma et modo come nella allogghagione prima apare. Et questo fecono per pregio di fiorini septecento de quali si debba fare e paghamenti a detto Lucha . . . et in quel modo et forma parra agli operai che in tenpi saranno con questo che la materia che bisognera per netare . . . dette porte gli sia dato. Et ongni altra cosa di suo proprio. Et il quale Lucha presente conducente et consentiente alla presente allogghagione, etc. . . ."—(Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo. Lib. Allog., a carta 79.)

(2)

1466, 30 Octobre. "Luce Simonis della Robbia intagliatore florenos 50 sunt pro parte ianne pro sagrestia, etc. . . ."

(3)

1468, 30 Giugno. "Luche Simonis della Robbia fior, 20 sunt pro parte ianne pro sagristia."

DOCUMENT XIV

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1451, DI LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

1451. "Quartiere Santo Giovanni. Gonfalone Chiave.

Sustanze di.

Lucha di Simone di Marcho della Robbia intagliatore disse el primo chatasto in Simone di Marcho mio padre.

Ebbene fior. 1 soldi.

Ebbi di decima del 1447 fior. 1 soldi 13 den. 10 a oro.

Fu ridotto per gli sgravi fior. 1.

Una meza chasa per non divisa cho figliuoli di Marcho della Robbia mie nipoti la quale tegnamo per nostro abitare; posta nel popolo di san Lorenzo, nel chonfalone del liono ad oro, nella via Ghuelfa chonfinata da primo, via; da secondo, Mona Antonia, donna che fu di Cristofano da Schopeto; da $\frac{1}{3}$ ser Antonio da Quartoprete, da $\frac{1}{4}$ el chapitolo de chanonici di Santa Maria del Fiore paga se ne a detti chanonici per livello lire dieci, soldi otto l'anno; detta chasa chomperamo da Lippo di Biagio da Peretola a dì 31 d'aghosto 1446, per pregio di fiorini dugento venti: charta per mano di ser Jachopo da Romena.

Una chasa da lavoratore posta nel popolo di Santa Maria a Tartagliese di Valdarno di sopra, chonfinata da primo, strada; da segunda, via; da $\frac{1}{3}$ Nicholo di Giovanni Bellacci; da $\frac{1}{4}$ Marcho del Billo Billacci.

Una chasetta posta dietro a detta chasa, chessene faceva stalla e oggi è rovinata.

19 pezi di terra chon detta chasa; el primo chonfina da primo, via; da secondo, Marcho del Billo Billacci; da $\frac{1}{3}$ Filippo del Pancia; da $\frac{1}{4}$ loro medesimi: l'ultimo chonfina da prima, via; da secondo $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ Pietro di Biagio da Tartagliese lavoravali nel primo chatasto Marcho di Berto da Tartagliese: rendevano in parte.

Grano staia 60

Orzo staia 10."

—(Arch. delle Decime, Quartiere S. Giovanni, Gonfalone Chiave. Gaye, Cart. Ined., i. 182.)

DOCUMENT XV

URBINO MADONNA AND SAINTS

1451. "Lucha di Simone della Robbia de' dare a dì 29 di giugno fior. quattro d'oro valsono L. 48, sol. 8, e per me da frate bartolomeo da Urbino. E questi furono per parte di pagamento di certe figure che detto Lucha mi debba fare per mettere nella porta d'Urbino, cioè una nostra donna, san piero martire, e san domenicho e di sopra in uno pontone uno idio padre in uno tondo per prezo di fior. quaranta, cioè fior. xl. L. 18, sol. 8."—(Extract from the Day Book of Maso di Bartolommeo. Quoted by Anselmi, "Arch. Stor. dell' Arte," 1888, p. 436.)

DOCUMENT XVI

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1457, DI LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

1457. "Quartiere S. Giovanni, Gonfalone Chiave.
Lucha di Simone di Marcho della Robbia, primo chatasto disse in Simone di Marcho, mio padre,

ebbe	.	.	.	.	fior. 1
valsentè	.	.	.	.	fior. 1 s. 7 d. 9
cinquiana	.	.	.	.	s. 14

Sustanze :

Una meza chasa per non divisa chon figliuoli di Marcho mio fratello, per mio abitare, posta nel popolo di S. Lorenzo, gonfalone lionè doro in Via Guelfa, chonfinata da 1° via, da 2° Monantonia, donna fu di Jachopo da Schopeto, da $\frac{1}{3}$ Piero Sassetti, da $\frac{1}{4}$ el chapitolo di Santa Maria del Fiore; la quale chomperamo Marcho di Simone mio fratello, ed io Lucha, da Lippo di Biagio da Peretola adi 31 dagosto 1446 per pregio di fior. 220, charta per mano di ser Jachopo da Romena; paga se ne l'anno d'aviliare al chapitolo di Santa Maria del Fiore, lir. 10 s. 2.

La terza parte d'un podere posto nel popolo di Santa Maria al Tartaglesè di Valdarno di sopra, etc. . . . Di tutta rendita mi toccha la $\frac{1}{3}$ parte, ed $\frac{2}{3}$ al figliuolo di Marcho di Simone, mio fratello, erede di ser Giovanni; chome pellozo iscritta vedrete.

Grano . istaia 20 . . . Lir. 29 s. 3 d. 8

Truovomi in sul monte nel quartiere di S. Giovanni iscritti in me Lucha di Simone di Marcho fior. 1203 s. 6 d. 9,

e io ne piglio le page—fior. 240 s. 13, o pagate tutto le mia graveze in sino al $\frac{1}{2}$ quinto—Truovomi di paghe guadagnate d'aghosto in qua fior. 20—fior. 12.

E più o una sepoltura di marmo, la quale ò fatto, già è più d'un anno, a Federigho di Jachopo Federighi; della quali siano appiato alla merchatantia; none posso ragionare alchuna cosa insino a tanto non è terminato; quando sara chiarita saro dinanzi del vostro officio.

Bocche :

Lucha sopra detto d'età danni 58.

Incharichi :

Pagho ogni anno a chapitolo di Santa Maria de Fiore pella metà dell' aviliare della chasa, dove io abito Lir. 5 s. 4.

Creditori :

O addare a detto chapitolo per detto aviliare chome apare alloro libro Lir. 15. E più o a dare a Tadeo di Lucha di Taddeo, saponao per dati chontanti prestatomi più tempo fa in più volte e più tempi, . . . Fior. 75."—(Arch. di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni Chiave. No. 829. A carta 115.)

DOCUMENT XVII

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1457, DEGLI EREDI DI MARCO DELLA ROBBIA

1457. "Quartiere di San giovanni chiave.

Figuoli eredi di marchio di Simone di marchio della robbia.

Eredi della sudita giacente di ser giovanni di simone della robbia nostro zio disse 1° catasto in simone di marchio.

Sustanze :

Una meza chasa per non divisa chon lucha di simone nostro zio per nostro abitare posto nel popolo di san lorenzo, chonfina, etc., etc.

(The document is but a repetition of the above. After follows a list of Debitori and Creditori, and lastly, what is of importance to us—the names and ages of the heirs aforesaid.)

Bocche :

Andrea danni	.	.	.	.	.	22
Simone danni	.	.	.	.	.	20
pagolo danni	.	.	.	.	.	17
Franciescha	.	.	.	.	.	14
margerita	.	.	.	.	.	13."

—(Arch. di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere S. Giovanni Chiave. No. 829. A carta 113.)

DOCUMENT XVIII

TOMB OF BISHOP FEDERIGHI

DELIBERAZIONI DELL' ARTE DI CALIMALA, 1456-1459

(1)

1459, 21 jul. "Federighus Jacobi ex parte una, Lucas Simonis della Robbia intagliator, ex altera, pro observant, executione et effectu scriptae conventionis existentis inter eos, facte 2 martii 1454, continentis in effectum quod dictus Lucas deberet facere dicto Federigho certum sepulcrum marmoreum certo modo et forma, prout in dicta scripta continetur. Et cum dictae partes de hujus modi laborerio non sunt in omnibus bene concordēs, elegerunt Andreā Lazari Cavalcantis, intagliatorem, civem florentinum, tanquam arbitrum ad vedendum—dictum opus jam factum, si in aliquo est defectum, antequam muretur, et deinde illo murato ad extimandum ipsum laborerium et talem exitimationem referendi hinc ad per totum xxiii septbr."

(2)

1459, 6 aug. "Andreas Lazari Cavalcantis, intagliator, judicavit nihil deficere seu defecisse in laborerio facto per dictum Lucam, sed omnia fecisse et adimplerisse secundum conventionem existentem inter eos, et quod nichillominus dictus Lucas teneatur dorare a mordente sepulcrum seu laborerium, de quo ibidem fit mentio ubi et quomodo videbitur eidem Andree, ad comunes expensas utriusque partis, acceptante dicto Federigho, etc. . . ."—(Gaye, Cart. Ined., i. p. 183.)

DOCUMENT XIX

MEDALLION OF THE COUNCIL OF MERCHANTS, OR SAN MICHELE

1463, Sep. 28. "Luce Marci della Robia intagliatore, F. 25 sold 88 et den. 5 per fiorino pro parte solutionis et mercedis operis per eum facte de signo et arma et circa signum et arma dicte Universitatis per eum applicandum in circulo posito in facie Oratorii S. Anne site in Platea Orti S. Michaelis civitatis Florentie supra pilastrum dicte Universitatis positum in dicta facie contra Oratorium S. Michaelis in orto secundum ordinationem et commissionem operariorum ordinatorum et deputatorum de mense Januarii seu Februarii 1462 per tunc officium sex Consiliariorum dicte Universitatis pro ornando et decorando dicto pilastro L. 110 sol. 10 d. 5 piccioli."—(Libro di Deliberazioni, Stangiamenti dei Sei

APPENDIX

Consiglieri della Mercatanzia, p. 254. Quoted by Allan Marquand, "Some Unpublished Monuments by Luca della Robbia." *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. viii., No. 2, p. 154.)

DOCUMENT XX

NOTICE OF DOWRY RECEIVED BY ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA WITH HIS WIFE, GIOVANNA DI PIERO DI SER LORENZO

1465. "Andrea figlio del fu Marco, popolo di S. Lorenzo, intagliatore, riceve nel 1465 in dote della sua moglie Giovanna, figlia di Piero di ser Lorenzo di Paolo, fiorini 266."—(Gaye, Cart. Ined., i. p. 186.)

DOCUMENT XXI

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1470, DI ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA

1470. "Andrea di Marcho di Simone della Robbia chio nel primo chatasto dissi in Simone di Marcho e nel valsente del 51 in figlioli di Marcho, nel 58 in figlioli di Marcho.

Sustanze:

D'una chasa per non divisa chon Lucha mio zio e Simone, mio fratello, nella quale abito, posta a san Barnaba in via Ghuelfa, da 1° via, da 2° Berto di Rondone, da 3° beni di Santa Maria del fiore, del 4° Piero Sassetti, e la detta chasa chonpramo da Lippo di Biagio da Peretola.

Lucha di Simone della Robbia, mio zio, mi domanda buona somma di danari, della quale io ne fusse debitore, chome lui dicie; mi rimarebbe piccola chosa et però mi vi rachomando.

E trovomi chon bocche:

Andrea detto d'età d'anni . . .	33
Nanna mia donna d'età danni . . .	21
Antonio mio figliolo . . .	3
Marcho mio figliolo . . .	2
Giovanni mio figliolo . . .	1."

—(Gaye, Cart. Ined., i. p. 187.)

DOCUMENT XXII

EXTRACT FROM THE TESTAMENT OF LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

- 1470 (N.S., 1471). "In Dei nomine amen, Anno Domini, etc., 1470, indictione iv. et die 19 februarii, presentibus—septem fratribus S. Marci.

Lucas olim Simonis Marci della Robbia, scultor, civis florentinus, de populo S. Laurentii de Florentia, sanus mente, sensu, corpore, visu et intellectu, nolens intestatus decedere, etc. . . ."

Imprimis quidem animam suam omnipotenti Deo ejusque gloriose Matri humiliter et devote recommandavit—et sepulturam corporis sui elegit eo loco et cum illis funeris expensis, prout videbitur suo heredi.

Item reliquit et legavit opere Sce Marie floren. 9, et novem floren. fabrice dicte opere.

Item legavit domine Checche ejus nipote et filie olim Marci Simonis della Robbia, vedue, flor. aur. centum, quos solvi voluit per ejus heredem.

Item dicens qualiter ipse habet duos nepotes ex fratre, videlicet Andream et Simonem fratres, et filios Marci Simonis della Robbia, et qualiter ipse Lucas tempore vite sue docuit artem suam sculpture dictam Andream, et adeo quod ipse Andreas per se ut magister potest exercere artem dicti Luce, et eidem Andree in vita ipsius Luce reliquit omnem creditum dicti Luce, et adeo quod ipse Andreas mediante industria dicti Luce et ejus documentis habet artem lucrativam adeo, quod usque in hodiernum diem satis superlucratis est, et hodie superlucratur, et in futurum actus est superlucrari, cum ipsa arte et ejus exercitio potest facillime et honorifice familiam suam nutrire, et dictum Simonem nihil docuit in vita sua; et considerans quod omnia bona non sunt sufficientia nec tanta, quanta industria dicti Andree, quam ipse habet Andreas mediante donatione dicti Luce, et volens ut dictus Simon habeat aliquid ex bonis dicti Luce, et ne posset tam a dicto Simone quam ab hominibus intelligentibus de ingratitude reprehendi, in omnibus ejus bonis heredem instituit dictum Simonem, ejus nepotem predictum, etc."—(Gaye, *Cart. Ined.*, i. p. 184. *Arch. Generali rogiti d'Agnolo di Cinozzo.*)

DOCUMENT XXIII

EXTRACT FROM LUCA'S REFUSAL OF OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF GUILD
OF FLORENTINE SCULPTORS (MASTERS IN WOOD AND STONE)

1471, 4 Augusti. "Lucas olim Simonis della Robbia, civis florent. extractus ut ipse asserit, in consulem artis magistrorum de florentia, dicens et asserens se esse et etate et infirmitate adeo gravatus, quod sine periculo sue persone dictum

officium commode exercere non posset, etc. . . ."—(Gaye, Cart. Ined., i. 185. Arch. Gen. di Firenze rogiti di ser Agnolo di Cinozzo.)

DOCUMENT XXIV

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1480, DI LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

1480. "Gonfalone Chiave:

Lucha di Simone della robbia ebbe di catasto 1469 in Lucha detto e in detto ghonfalone.

Sustanza:

Una meza casa per non divisa con andrea e simone di marchio mie nipotti posta nel popolo di san lorenzo, ghonfalone liondoro da 1° via, 2° piero sassetti 3° l'erede di betto di ognibene legnaiolo per 4° santa maria del fiore comperai io lucha e marchio mio fratello e padre di detti andrea e simone da lippo di biagio da Peretola a di d'agosto 1446 per pregio di fiorini 200."

[The omitted parts are almost a repetition of the former Declarations.]

"Bocche:

Lucha, eta danni 82."¹

—(Arch. di Stato di Firenze. Quartiere Chiave, No. 1021.)

'DOCUMENT XXV

LUNETTE, MADONNA AND ANGELS OF THE MUSEO DEL DUOMO

1489, 12 Sett. "Deliberavunt quod pro figuris positis super hostio officii per quod itur versus, bona Bartholomei di Buondelmontibus videlicet et contra hostium audientie solvatus Andree della Robbia summum F. xx^{ti} pp. et sic et pro tali pretio apretiaverunt dictas figuras."—(Arch. di S. Maria del Fiore. A carta 64.)

DOCUMENT XXVI

LOGGIA DELL' OSPEDALE DI SAN PAOLO

(1)

1490. "Alla nostra muraglia, e prima per opere e vetture della pietra forte del pilastro del canto del porticho e fornitura dè.

¹ The above would give the date of Luca's birth 1398, instead of 1400, contradicting his own statement of 1457 (Doc. xvi.) as well as that of his father of 1427 (Doc. i.) This is but another instance of the unreliability of these documents (see p. 26).

Capitelli e peducci a rincontro del pilastro come chiaramente si vede al quaderno di cassa C. cosa per cosa, lire 376 s. 10 4 —Dal di 6 di giugno al di 6 d'agosto 1489—resta indritto el costo della pietra forte avuta da Lorenzo di Bernardo Ridolfi, però la muraglia debi dare a libro Debitori e creditori C. Fior. 72, soldi 94, denari 19, 4, da lire quattro l'uno. L. 376. 195. 4."

(2)

1493. "A Giusto di Piero, muratore, lire 27. 19—portò contanti sono per opera xv di maestro con opere 38 di manovali misono nel murare la porta della chiesa nella testa del porticho posto a libro Deb. e Cred.," etc.

(3)

1494. "Alla nostra muraglia lire 14. 17—per segatura d'asse correnti d'albero e abete vecchio e d'asse di nocio per le porte del portico, dal di 11 d'agosto a di 11 di novembre 1494," etc.

(4)

1495. "A Marco di Vico da Santa Maria Impruneta fior. 12 a soldi 133 l'uno per l'altro dal di 10 marzo 1494 al di 16 marzo 1495 sono per conto di embrici e gronde avute da lui pel tetto del portico e pel ammatonato delle volte sopra il portico sono lire 79 s. 16."

(5)

1495. "A Tommaso d'Ambruogio imbiancatore a di 10 febbraio fior. 2 l'ha per conto della imbiancatura del portico dal lato di sopra e di sotto, monto lire cinquanta, d'accordo posto a suo conto," etc.

(6)

1495. "A Giovanni di Romolo, scalpellino lavorò gli scaglioni del portico si fa saldo dell' opera sua dal 2 di marzo 1494 al 6 di luglio 1495."

(7)

1495. "A Luca di Tano, legnaiuolo, da San Michele Berteldi, adì 30 jennaio lire 2. 10—sono per resto di ciò che noi abbiamo avuto a fare insieme per insino a questo di, etc. . . ." —(Archives of the Hospital of S. Paolo. Quoted by Cavallucci et Molinier, "Les Della Robbia," p. 96.)

DOCUMENT XXVII

WOODEN CRUCIFIX MADE BY ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA

(1)

1490, 24 Jan. (N.S., 1491). "MCCCCLXXXXO.

Dicta die xx quarta Januar.

Item quod fiat quidam crucifixus ligneus ita congegatus ut membra movere videantur et proviat pro illum ostendendo populo in venere sancto quolibet anno quancumque foret expediens in quo ad plus expendant Flor. sex larg. valore . . . F. 6."—(Arch. dell' Opera dell Duomo. Libro Deliberazioni, 1486-1491, a c. 78.)

(2)

1491, 23 April. "Die xxiii° Aprilis. Item quod solvantur Andree Marci dalla Robbia. Flor. quinque larg. pro valore pro uno crucifixo per eum constructo pro ebdomeda sancta vigore Deliberationis in hoc F. 8 sub Die xxiii^a Januar MCCCCLXXXI., pp. n. 128, F. 5."—(Lib. cit. a c. 106.)

(3)

1491, 29 Aprile. "Item dicta die. Appretiaverunt crucifixum confectum per Andream della Robbia . . . ut extimationis esse . . . valoris flor. quinque largorum pro valore et ita solvator dicto Andree."—(Lib. cit. a c. 107.)

DOCUMENT XXVIII

1491, 28 Giugno. "Delib. quod Spinellus Domi unus ex sculptoribus dicte opere" (Opera del Duomo?) "possit . . . ad laborandum cum Andrea della Robbia absque sui preindicio."—(Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo. Lib. cit. a c. 52.)

DOCUMENT XXIX

PORTATA AL CATASTO, 1498, DI ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA

1498. "Andrea di marco di simone della Robbia, Quartiere di sangiovanni Gonfalone chiavi disse la gravezza della scala dell' anno 1481 in Andrea detto.

Una casa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di san lorenzo,

luogho detto via Ghulfia nel gonfalone de liono doro, che da primo, via, da secondo eredi di berto lengnaiuolo, da terzo, capitolo di santa maria del fiore, da quarto, giovanni tessitor di panni lini, ò comperato un pezzuolo di terra cioè di campo, che chonfina chollorto della detta casa, e per crescere lorto dallato drieto alla casa; confina collorto di detta casa e con detto capitolo in dua lati costò fior. ottanta larghi d'oro per fior. 40 lo staioro, che furono staiora dua, sotto di 15 di settembre 1492, roghato ser Guntino di lorenzo di guntione. Rende vino barili 4 lanno fior. 1.

E più una casa posta in detto popolo allato a quella abito, murato, in sulla prima compera della terra era orto di detta casa ch'io abito, la quale ad presente apigionata; confinata da primo via, da secondo Andrea sopradetto, da terzo giovanni tessitor di panni lini, da quarto beni di Santa Maria del fiore. Tiella a pigione baldo di Giovanni di berto da careggi per pregio di fior. quattordici e mezzo larghi d'oro ex un pagha fu rogato ser bastiano forti della aloghagone fior. 19.

Un podere posto nel popolo di san gorgo a ruballa con casa da lavoratore diviso in cinque pezzi di terra. E prima tre pezzi insieme; da prima via, da secondo, papi di Geri de Bardi, da terzo via, da quarto detto papi. E più pezzuoli di terra spiccati da quegli tre—sono staiora quattro o'n circha, da primo via, da secondo la chiesa di san gorgo, da terzo antonio di piero Ghuasconi, da quarto chiesa di monte isone; ed è in tutto staiora diciotto olivata vingnata e affrutata, lavorati con uno buo di fior. nove lavorato meo di Zanobi berni rende in parte.”—(Arch. di Stato di Firenze. Pub. by Carlo Pini. Scrittura di Artisti Italiani, Sec. xiv.–xvii., 1876.)

DOCUMENT XXX

PRESEPIO OF FRA AMBROGIO DELLA ROBBIA, S. SPIRITO, SIENA

1504. “Tempore memorati fratris Roberti (Antonio Ubaldini de Galliano de Florentia) MDIII, factum fuit Presepium Domini in ecclesia, arte ac diligentia fratris Ambrosii de Rubia florentini quem Prior et Patres, ipsum construendi Presepium gratia, huic Conventui postularunt, receperunt et plures per menses retinuerunt.”—(Cronaca del Convento di Santo Spirito, Siena. Quoted by Milanese, Vasari, ii. 181, Note 2.)

DOCUMENT XXXI

PISTOJA TYMPANUM

1505. "Mandati per alcuni lavori della cattedrale di Pistoia. Die xxvi augusti 1505. Prefati Dm. servatis servandio . . . stentiorno ad Andrea de la Rubia per haver fatto quello mezzo tondo sopra la magior porta della chiesa catedral di terra cotta ducenti cinquanta larg. d'oro m. . . .

Die dicta. Item simile modo et forma . . . stentiorno lire setanta, soldi sette piccoli e quelli si sono spesi in pesi 1900 d'oro fino comprato a Firenze a lire iii., sol. xvii., p. il C° ec. et pezi L. d'oro comprato qui in Pistoja a lire quatro, sol. xvii. il C° per mettere a oro il ssto lavoro in tutto lire setanta sol. xvii. per li m.

Die dicta. Item simile modo et forma . . . stentiorno lire quarantadue p. li p. le spese facte ad Andrea de la Rubia, uno suo figlio e uno gargione e il cavallo di xxviii. cioe da dè xxvi. di luglio a di 24 d'agosto presente stati in Pistoia per fare murare e mettere a oro il s.do lavoro.

Die xxviii augusti 1505. Prefati etc. . . . stentiorno a Giusto e Sante scarpellini per loro magisterio e fatica d'una porta dinanzi fatta pel Duomo verso il Campanile duc. xvi. d'oro . . . larg. mo. per loro fatiche et opera messe a fare murizuoli dinanzi et a fare cornice di marmo sopra la porta principale del Domo a man sinistra . . . p . . . all' intrare per possar suso il mezo tondo di terra cotta fatto per Andrea de la Rubia et per piu pezi di marmo rimessi in detto porticho sopra l'archo della porta principale, in tutto lire lxxvi. sol. sei p. li senza i duc. xvi. . . . m . . ."—(Gualandi. Memorie originali italiane risguardanti le belle arti. Bologna, 1845, vi., No. 181, pp. 33-35.)

DOCUMENT XXXII

VITERBO, S. GIOVANNI DE' FIORENTINI, LUNETTE AND BUST

1509-1510. "11 Ottobre 1509, ad Andrea de' Robbia per le figure sopra la porta ducati sedici.

7 Febbraio 1510, per il busto pagati per conto Almadiano del banco Chigi ducati sette."—(Document existing in the Registers of the Church S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini. Quoted by Ettore Gentili, "La Chiesa de' Fiorentini a Viterbo," Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1889, p. 411.)

DOCUMENT XXXIII

ALTARPIECE OF S. MEDARDO, ARCEVIA

(1)

1513. "ANNO DÑI. MDXIII.

E più ha dato la Comunità fiorini dodici contanti pelle figure facte infiorentza a perfecto nostro sindaco li quali pagò Tomaxo di bianco et suoi conpagni ogi questo dì 17 di luglio 1513 . . . fior. 12; bol. 00.

Et più ha dato la Comunità al veturale che portò ditte figure da fiorenza fiorini quattro . . . fior. 4; bol. 00."

(2)

1513. "ANNO DÑI. MDXIII.

Et più pellacona delaltare maggiore facta di preta cotta in fiorenza da m° Giovanni di m° Andrea della Rubbia, costo infiorentza la prima compra 22 contanti . . . fior. 22; bol. 00.

Et più uno occhio per la chiesa di terra cotta: et uno Santo Hieromino picholo pur di terra cotta fatti in fiorenza: et una Santa Maria Magdalena pichola di terra: montorno tutta sopra ditta cose. Et più intra vecture et cabelle montorno sopra ditte figure avenire da fiorenza in fino a qua a Santo Hieronymo contanti . . . fior. 9; bol. 00.

Et più per murare sopra ditta figure muro m° donato sopraditto opere 2 et 2 di manuale montorno ditte opere bolognini 24 contanti . . . fior. 00; bol. 24."

(3)

1514. "ANNO DÑI. MDXIII.

"Et più per opere 3 amurare dinanti alle figure una Trasanna muro m° Ambrosio con 3 manuali montorno sopra ditte opere . . . fior. 00; bol. 36."

(4)

1515. "ANNO DÑI. MDXV.

Et più per oro pelle figure compramo in fiorenza . . . fior. 2; bol. 4.

Et più per oro compramo di giovanfelice monto . . . fior. 1; bol. 20.

Et più per oro compramo da ser ciecho spetiale . . . fior. 0; bol. 20.

Et più per manifattura di metter a oro le sopra ditte figure :

le quali messe a ora Pierfrancesco da Saxoferrato monte in tutto . . . fior. 4; bol. oo.”—(Libro della Edificazione della Chiesa di S. Girolamo. A carte 8 tergo. A carte 132 tergo, e a carte 133 tergo. Quoted by Anselmi, “Arch. Stor. dell’Arte,” 1888, p. 369.)

DOCUMENT XXXIV

PRESEPIO, S. MARIA MADDALENA, PIAN DI MUGNONE

1515. “Ricordo come adì 22 di settembre 1515 si missono le figure del presepio cioè una Vergine vestita di nero et uno Joseph vestito d’azzurro col bambino et l’asino et il bue in sul fieno, facto per mano di Andrea della Robbia, di elemosine procurate et date da Frate Roberto Salviati.”—(Libro Deb. e Cred. dell’Ospizio di S. Maria Madalena in Pian di Mugnone de’ Frati di S. Marco, folio 112. Quoted by Milanese, Vasari, ii. 180, Note 1.)

DOCUMENT XXXV

ALTARPIECE OF S. MARCO DI CALCESANA, PISA

- 1518, 18 d’agosto. “Actum Florentie in pop. S. Stephani Abatie Florentine.

Cum sit quod homines cappelle et seu parrochie Sancti Marci de Calcesana, site in civitate Pisarum, et etiam infrascriptus Augustinus operarius cappelle predicte, desiderent et a dicta cappella in et pro altari maiori dicte cappelle ponere et sive construere et sive poni et construi facere quandam tabulam, in qua sculpta sit assumptio beate Marie Virginis in quodam nube, prout sculpi solent, cum pluribus figuris angelorum ut sopra sculptorum circum dictam figuram et seu imaginem et ipsius beate Virginis et cum figura seu imagini Dei patris et octo profetarum et seu patriarchum etiam ut supra sculptarum seu sculptorum desuper figuris et seu nubem assumptionis predicte, et cum quatuor imaginibus et seu figuris etiam ut supra sculptis sub imaginibus sanctorum Petri, Jacobi et Marci apostolorum Dei, et sancti Ansani martiris ad pedes ipsius tabule et cum quodam ornamento seu festone et quodam vase in capite dicti festonis et pluribus figuris et imaginibus puerorum in dicto festone desuper et a lateribus dicte tabule, et cum predella seu base ipsius tabule et columnis et aliis ornamentis ipsius tabule altitudinis anime ipsius tabule, com-

putata altitudine predella et seu basis predicte brachiorum sex, et dicti festonis et vasis ut supra in capite tabule apponende altitudinis brachii unius et sic in totum brachiorum septem; latitudinis vero ipsius tabule et columnarum et ornamentorum ipsius brachiorum quatuor et unius quarti alterius brachii. Et que omnes figure et seu imagines cum ornamentis, festone et vase et aliis predictis suit sculpte de terra cocta ismaltata et invetriata et adorata ad oleum et cum coloribus perfectis et auro brunito et a mordente, prout convenienter oportuerit, prout apparet per quoddam disegnum et seu figuratum de predictis factum existens penes dictos homines et seu penes dictum Augustinum, operarium predictum, prout asserint prefatus Augustinus operarius antedictus coram me notario infrascripto et testibus supra scriptis.

Et cum sit etiam quod dictus Augustinus volens dictum opus ad finem perducere quesiverit in civitate Florentie et invenerit infrascriptum Joannen sculptorem idoneum ad predicta: hinc est quod hodie hac presenti superscripta die dictus Augustinus Gherardi Urbani de Pisis operarius et ut operarius dicte Cappelle Sancte Marci alla Calcesana de presentia, consensu et voluntate presbiteri Francisci Pierantoni del Pontadera moderni rectoris dicte Cappelle presentis et omne meliori modo, etc., dictum opus ut supra perficiendum locavit, etc. Joanni Andree della Robbia, civi et sculptori florentino, presenti et acceptanti. Et qui Joannes sculptor predictus promisit dicto Augustino operario sculpsisse dictas figuras et imagines et dictam tabulam cum omnibus superscriptis perfecisse et ad dictam civitatem Pisarum et in loco altaris posuisse omnibus suis sumptibus etiam muramentorum pro predictis faciendorum cum materia, coloribus, ornamentis et auro et in omnibus et per omnia de quibus et prout de supra in dicto disegno et figuratione predictis constat et apparet, per totum diem xv. mensis martii proxime futuri presentis anni Domini 1518. Et ex adverso dictus Augustinus promisit eidem Joanni sculptori solvere pro pretio et premio operis predicti florenos triginta septem auri largos in auro de libris septem florenorum parvorum pro quolibet floreno cum dimidio alterius floreni similis, hoc modo, ad presens florenos sex, residuum vero per totam dictam diem xv. mensis martii proxime futuri, et si dictum opus perfectum erit, prius et immediate post perfectionem dicti operis, si prius perfectum fuerit," etc., etc.—(Quoted by Cavallucci et Molinier, "Les Della Robbia," pp. 194-195.)

DOCUMENT XXXVI

PAVEMENT OF VATICAN LOGGIA

(1)

1518, 5 agosto. "E più a M° Luca de la Robia, che fa el pavimento de la gran logia, per parte di pagamento ducati 200."

(2)

1518, 10 settembre. "E più al frate de la Robia per il pavimento, ducati venti cinque."—(Archives of the Vatican. Quoted by Müntz, "Raphael," p. 452, Note 1.)

DOCUMENT XXXVII

FRA MATTIA DELLA ROBBIA

COMMISSION FROM CARDINAL FRANCESCO ARMELLINO MEDICI

1522. "Die ix Julii 1522. Venerabilis via frater Mathias Andree Marci de Robbia comunitatis florentinae, ordinis sancti Dominici, sponte, etc., promisit et convenit R^{mo} in Christo patri domino Francisco Armellino Medices, tituli sancti Calisti presbitero cardinali, sancte romane ecclesie Camerario, presenti, etc., facere et fabricare statuas infra-scriptas, videlicet, unam ad similitudinem Dei patris omnipotentis, aliam beate Marie Virginis, alias octo ad minus cherubinatorum circum circa dictas duas statuas, alias quatuor angelorum, unam sancti Laurentii et aliam sancti Francisci, magnas et altas juxta altitudinem sanctorum et non minoris altitudinis palmorum septem ad mensuram romanam. Et etiam bonas et pulchras habentes pulchras figuras et bonas visus, et hoc ex terra cotta vitreata ac smaltata ad usum statuarum et aleorum laborum quæ et qui fiunt in la Robbia et ex bonis coloribus. Quas quidem statuas promisit fabricare et eidem R^{mo} consignare ac in labore et opere (in loco) seu locis sibi per Rev. designatis in urbe ponere, suis risico et periculo, laboribus et expensis preter quam in murando illas, infra quatuor menses proxime futuros. Et premissa fecit et facere promisit, etc., pro precio et omnimoda solutione ducatorum quinquacinta monete veteris de carl. x. pro ducato. Quos rev. p.tus promisit et eidem stipulanti, etc., solvere hic

Rome gradatim et successive, prout dictum opus efficiet, intra dictum tempus, omni mora cessante et exceptione remota. Et ex nunc idem dictus frater Mathias confessus est, etc., se ad bonum compatum dicti precii ab eodem Rev. et per manus d. heredum Joannis Francisci de Martellis Ludovici de Caponibus et sociorum habuisse et recepissee ante rogationem presentis instrumenti, carlenos 40 de quibus, etc., quietavit renunciando, etc., et pro quibus, etc. Actum Rome in edibus predicti R^{mi} presentibus ibidem d. Lodovico Capone cive et mercatore florentino romanam curiam sequente, et R. D. Jo. Baptista de Martellis subdiacono apostolico testibus."—(R. Arch. di Stato di Roma. Quoted by Gnoli, "Arch. Stor. dell' Arte," 1889, p. 84.)

DOCUMENT XXXVIII

FRA MATTIA DELLA ROBBIA

COMMISSION FROM APOSTOLIC NOTARY, ALBERTO SERRA

1524. "Die quarta junij 1524. Fr. Mathias Andree de Florentia ornis S^{ti} Dnicj sponte, etc., promisit, etc., domine Alberto Serra Curie Causarum Camere apostolice notario presenti et domine meo ei construere et facere figuras supra designatas¹ de terra dicta Cocta cocta invittriata et smaltata de bonis et finis ac sufficientibus coloribus juxta predesignatum dessignum et melius in apparentia, ita quod vanum sit latitudinis Palmorum trium et Festonus cum cherubinis sit alterius palmi cum uno quarto, et quas figuras promisit facere de terra bona infra Quindecime dies et illas ostendere factas ex fresco, infra idem tempus ac subinde easdem invittriare, smaltare, cognere et perficere ac eidem druino Alberto hic in Urbe ad domum habitationis sue consignare infra unum alium mensem cum Limidio exinde sequentem alias teneri voluit ad restitutionem infrascripte pecunie et ad penam dupli ac omnia damna, etc. Et Premissa fecit et facere promisit dictus Fr. Mathias pro pretio et Solutione duorum ducatorum auri largorum, quos dictus dominus Albertus eidem solvit in presentia testum, etc., et de quibus, etc. Pro quibus, etc., sed etiam ea que in generali obligatione non veniunt nec comprehenduntur et sub penis camere apostolice obligavit cum juramento et constitutione procuratoris et in se omnes suscepit censuras

¹ In the original document is a drawing of the Tondo, reproduced by Gnoli, Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, 1889, p. 83.

ecclesiasticas cum mandato executivo, etc., contra eum decernendo, etc. Actum Rome in officio, etc., presentibus gerardo poershom clerico Tullensis diocesis et Waltero Regis clerico tullensis diocesis testibus, etc.

Ita est fr. mathias manu propria."—(R. Arch. di Stato di Roma. Atti di Alberto Serra, Vol. 1840, p. 70. Published by D. Gnoli, "Arch. Stor. dell' Arte," 1889, p. 83.)

DOCUMENT XXXIX

CHÂTEAU DE MADRID: PAYMENTS TO GIROLAMO DELLA ROBBIA

(1)

- 1529 (N.S., 1530). "A Pierre Gadier, tailleur de pierres et maistre maçon, et Jerosme de Robia, tailleur d'ymaiges et esmailleur, ayans charge du dict seigneur du bastiment qu'il faict presentement ediffier au boys de Boullongne près Paris, la somme de quarante et une livres tournoys à eulx donnée et ordonnée par ville de Dijon recouvrer envers messieurs du conseil du dict seigneur partie des deniers qui, par le dict seigneur, leur ont esté ordonnez, pour convertir au dict bastiment . . . le 5 fevrier 1529."—Delaborde, "Château du Bois de Boulogne," Paris, 1853, p. 26.)

(2)

1532. "1^{er} decembre. Acquit pour faire bailler et délivrer à Nicolas le Picard, commis à tenir le compte et faire le payement des bastiments de Fontainebleau et boys de Boullongne, la somme de deux mil neuf cens cinquante troys livres, deux solz, six deniers parisis, pour convertir au fait de sa commission et mesmement au dit bastiment de Boullongne, et icelle avoir et prandre sur troys ventes de boys de haulte fustaye délivrées à Jherosme de la Robya, esmailleur, comme plus offrant et dernier enchérisseur, pour la dicte somme de iij^m ix^c liii. liv. ii. s. vi. d. parisis.

Autre vallidation de la somme de neuf mil deux cens livres tournois qu'il (Florimond de Champeverne, commis au fait des bâtimens de Boulogne) a payées à Jherosme de la Robye et Pierre Gadier, comme il appert par quittance."

(3)

1537. "A Gratian François et Jherosme de la Robie, maistres maçons du dit bastiment de Boullongne, pour avoir parfait tous les ouvrages de maçonnerie au dit lieu de Boullongne, par

l'ordonnance des dits de Neufville et Babou, signées de leurs mains, le 2^e de décembre 1537 . . . 54,288 livres 17^s. 7^d."

(4)

1537. "Nous François, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France, certiffions à nos amez et féaulx gens de nos comptes, avoir voulu et ordonné par ces présentes que Jherosme de Robbia ait esté et soit payé des ouvrages par luy faicts et qu'il doit encore faire en nostre Chasteau de Boullongne lès Paris, au pris et sommes de deniers contenues en chacune des dictes parties par notre amé et feal notaire Nicolas Picart par nous commis à faire le compte et payement du dict bastiment de Boullongne.

Au dit Jhierosme de la Robia pour tous les ouvrages susdits, la somme de . . . 15,081 liv. 10s.

Ouvrages d'esmail. A Jherosme de la Robie, sculpteur et émailleur de terre cuitte, pour tous les ouvrages par luy faicts d'esmail et autres certaines pièces de terre cuitte au dit bastiment de Boullongne le 8 avril 1537 . . . 3,572 liv."

(5)

1538. "A Jherosme de la Robie, sculpteur et émailleur de terre cuitte, pour tous les ouvrages par luy faits d'esmail et autres certaines pièces de terre cuite au dit bastiment de Boullongne par l'ordonnance desdits de Neufville et la Bourdaizière, le 8^e avril 1537 le somme de . . .

A Jherosme de la Robie, sculpteur et esmailleur du Roy pour ses gaiges de quatre années finies le dernier jour de décembre mvcxxxviii à ii^e xl liv. par an et à prendre sur les deniers de l'espargne ordonnés estre distribuez autour de la personne du Roy . . . ix^c lx liv. t."

(6)

- 1537-1540. "A Gratian François et Jherosme de la Robbia, maistres maçons, la somme de 25,157 liv. 14s. 5d. à eux ordonnée par les commissaires de Neufville et Babou, pour tout les ouvrages de maçonnerie et taille par eux faits au dit château de Boullongne."

(7)

- 1540-1550. "A Gratian François et Jherosme de la Robie maistres maçons, la somme de 94,666 liv. 13s. 11d. obole, a eux ordonnées par messieurs Nicolas de Neufville, et Philibert Babou, commissaires deputed sur le fait desdicts bastiments pour les ouvrages de maçonnerie et taille par eux faits et qu'ils continuent faire au dit château de Boullongne."

(8)

"A Jherosme de la Robie, esmailleur de terre cuïtte et sculpteur pour le Roy au château de Boullongne, la somme de 12,786 liv. 8s. 4d. pour les ouvrages de terre cuïtte, recuïtte et esmaillée faits au bastiment de Boullongne lès Paris."

(9)

"A maistres Gratien François et Jherosme de la Robia, maçons, la somme de 2,374 liv. 25, 2d. pour les ouvrages de maçonnerie et taille par eux faits au dit château de Boullongne, suivant les marchés par eux faits au dit sieur de Lorme."

(10)

"A Jherosme de la Robia, esmailleur et sculpteur du roy, la somme de 7,387 livres à quoy se monte toutes les pièces et ouvrages de terre cuïtte, recuïtte et esmaillée par luy faits au dit Boullongne suivant le marché de ce fait avec les dit commissaires."

(11)

1560-1561. "A maistre Jhierosme de la Robbia et Gatien François, entreprenear du bastiment de Boullongne, la somme de 443 livres 11 sous, pour avoir fourny plusieurs materraux au dit chasteau."

(12)

1562-1563. "A messire Jhierosme de la Robbie, entrepreneur des bastimens du chasteau de Boullongne, la somme de 746 livres pour tous les ouvrages de maçonnerie qu'il a faits au dit chasteau."

(13)

1563. "A Jherosme de la Robia, maistre maçon et ingénieur, la somme de 1,937 liv. 3 s. 2 den. à luy ordonnée par le dit abbé de Saint-Martin, pour les ouvrages de maçonnerie qu'il a entrepris de faire pour le roy en son chasteau de Boullongne."—(Delaborde, *Château du bois de Boulogne*, pp. 28, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 50, 62, 63, 64; *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*, tome i^{er}, pp. 117, 118, 138, 207, 212; tome ii., p. 105. Quoted by Cavallucci et Molinier, "*Les Della Robbia*," pp. 195-198.)

DOCUMENT XL

GIROLAMO DELLA ROBBIA'S HOUSE AT PUTEAUX-LES-SURENNE

1535 (N.S., 1536), "22 Fevrier. Jehan le Riche, tuteur de Jehan le Bret . . . cède . . . à noble homme maistre Jherosme de la Robye, maistres des édifices que le Roy nostre sire faict de présent construire au lieu de Boullongne . . . la quarte partie par indivis des héritages cy après déclarés, c'est assavoir d'une grande maison assise au village de Puteaux-les-Surenne, contenant ung grand corps d'hostel manable à esgout sur rue . . . etc."—(Jal, Dict. crit. de biographie et d'histoire, p. 1066.)

DOCUMENT XLI

TONDO BY GIROLAMO DELLA ROBBIA FOR THE PALACE OF FONTAINEBLEAU

(No Date.) "A maistres Jhjerosme de la Robie, esmailleur et sculpteur florentin, pour avoir fait un grand rond de terre cuite et esmaillée sur le portail et entrée du dit chasteau de Fontainebleau, garny d'un grand chapeau de triumphe tout autour remply de plusieurs sortes de feuillages et fleurs, melons, concombres, pommes de pin, grenades, raisins, pavots, artichauts, citrons, orenge, pesches, pommes, grenouilles, lézards et limats, et plusieurs autres par l'ordonnance des dits de Neufville et la Bourdaizière, la somme de 250 livres."—(Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi, i., p. 112.)

DOCUMENT XLII

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF GIROLAMO AND LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

1546 (N.S., 1547). "17 février. Le dict seigneur" (François I.) "a affranchy Me Jherosme de la Robie, son me maçon de son bastiment de Boullongne, et Luc de la Robye, son frère, me esmailleur et sculpteur dud. seigneur, de tailles, aydes, impositions, emprunts, et subsides quelzconques, tout ainsy qu'en jouissent ses officiers domestiques."—(Jal, Dict. crit. de biographie et d'histoire, p. 1066.)

DOCUMENT XLIII

SHRINE OF FRANÇOIS II. AND TOMB OF THE VALOIS

(No Date.) "A Jherosme de la Robia, imager et sculpteur, la somme de 200 livres sur la façon et ouvrages de deux petits enfants de marbre blanc, de la haulteur de deux pieds ou environ, qui serviront à mettre au coing du piedestail qui se dresse pour le cœur du feu roy François dernier.

"A Jherosme de la Robia, sculpteur, pour les ouvrages de sculpture par luy faits en deux petits enfants de marbre qui doivent servir à la sépulture du cœur du feu roy François dernier deceddé; sur la figure d'un gisant de marbre blanc, de longueur de cinq pieds, représentant la figure de la Reyne, pour mettre à la sepulture du feu roy Henry, dernier deceddé, et deux petits enfans de marbre blanc assis sur une tête de mort, tenant une trompe de renommée à flamme de feu renversée, signifians la vie esteinte, contenant deux pieds ou environ de hault, pour servir au tombeau du cœur du feu roy François dernier, pour iceulx porter à Orleans avec le dit tombeau, a luy ordonnée la somme de 225 livres par le dit abbé de Saint-Martin."—(Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi, Tome ii., p. 107, 108, 120. Quoted by Cavallucci et Molinier, "Les Della Robbia, p. 176.)

DOCUMENT XLIV

THE FAMILY OF GIROLAMO DELLA ROBBIA

(1)

1559. "10 septembre 1559, décéda ung petit enfant de l'aage de 6 ou 7 mois, nommé Jules, fils du s^r Ascanio de Marie, demeurant en Nesles, lequel fut inhumé au cymetière de lad. église"—(Saint-André-des-Arcs.)

(2)

1560. "Samedy, xv^e juing 1560, Francois, fils du seigneur Anceguane" (this name is effaced, and above it is written 'Ascanio') "orfevre du Roy, e de damoiselle Constance de la Roubie, sa femme."

(3)

1566. "Le jeudi 1^{er} jour du mois d'aoust au dict an mil cinq cens soixante-six, décéda damoiselle Constance de la Robbya,

femme de Ascanio dy Marii, orfebvre du feu Roy Henry second demourans en Nesles, et fut le jours mesmes son corps inhumé en l'église et couvent des Augustins par ma permission, d'aautant qu'elle n'avoit testé, environ les neuf heures du soir."

DOCUMENT XLV

DEATH OF GIROLAMO DELLA ROBBIA

1566. "Le dimanche iiiie jours desdicte mois et an" (August 1566)
"décéda a Nesles, noble homme Hierosme de la Robbya, Italien Florentin, architecte du Roy, et fut son corps inhumé le meme jour environ les six heures du soir en l'église et couvent des Augustins."—(Registres de Saint-André-des-Arcs, *Jal. Dict. crit. de la biographie et d'histoire*, p. 1066.)

APPENDIX V

NOTE

THE following List has for its basis that of MM. Cavallucci and Molinier in their standard work "Les Della Robbia," published in 1884. Since that time however there have been many changes and discoveries. Collections have been broken up and distributed or removed to other museums. Many works have been sold from Florentine Palaces and Tuscan Churches and Convents to foreign Museums and Private Collections. Research has been advancing and many others have been added to the list, chiefly by Signor Carocci, who in his capacity as Inspector of Public Monuments has had special opportunities for discovery in out-of-the-way villages and villas. The List here given is the most complete yet compiled, and with the exception of some few in the most inaccessible places, the works have been personally studied by the author.

It being desirable to keep the List as simple as possible, all indication except what is absolutely necessary has been omitted. Fuller descriptions of subject, names of personages represented, &c., would have added too considerably to the bulk of a catalogue comprising over a thousand works, besides being of no special value for purposes of study. Unless otherwise mentioned the works are invariably bas-reliefs, and unless the form, such as Lunette, Tondo, &c., is indicated, they are Altarpieces. The colours are for the most part mentioned, but in some cases either description—*white on blue* or *polychromatic*—would be misleading, the general effect being often the former, when other colours are introduced in small quantities. This is nearly always the case in "The Madonna adoring the Christ Child." It must be remembered also that nearly all bear traces of gilding.

Inscriptions are quoted only where they have special interest in connection with dates, donors, &c.

WORKS OF LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
BERLIN . . .	MUSEUM	"FRESCOBALDI MADONNA"	Glazed Terra-cotta. White on blue. From the Palazzo Frescobaldi (p. 121)
		MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF YOUTH	G.T.C. Polych. From the Palazzo Torrigiani (p. 89)
	COLL. OF HERR VON BECKE-RATH	INCREDULITY OF S. THOMAS	T.C. (unglazed). Statuette. From Florence (p. 88)
FLORENCE . .	DUOMO	BRONZE DOORS OF N. SACRISTY	Begun 1446 (pp. 80-88)
	<i>Over entrance of N. Sacristy</i>	RESURRECTION	1443. Tympanum. G.T.C. Chiefly white on blue (p. 72)
	<i>Over entrance of S. Sacristy</i>	ASCENSION	1446. Tymp. G.T.C. Chiefly white on blue (p. 73)
	<i>In S. Sacristy</i>	TWO ANGELS BEARING CANDLABRA	1448. G.T.C. White. Statues. From the Chapel of Corpus Domini (p. 89)
	CAMPANILE (N. Wall)	FIVE RELIEFS: UNIVERSAL HARMONY SCIENCE LYRIC SONG DIALECTICS GRAMMAR	Begun 1437. Marble (pp. 57-62)
	MUSEO DEL DUOMO	CANTORIA	1431-1438. Marble. From the Wall of N. Sacristy Duomo (pp. 47-56)
	MUSEO NAZIONALE	28. "MADONNA OF THE APPLE"	G.T.C. White on blue. From the Guardaroba of Palazzo Vecchio (p. 123)
		29. MADONNA AND ANGELS	G.T.C. White on blue. From the destroyed Church of S. Pierino (p. 123)
		31. "MADONNA OF THE ROSES"	G.T.C. Chiefly white on blue (p. 122)
		201. CRUCIFIXION OF S. PETER	} 1439. Marble. Executed for the Chapel of S. Peter, Duomo (pp. 62-64)
		219. LIBERATION OF S. PETER	
	S. CROCE (Cappella Pazzi)	CUPOLA OF ATRIUM	G.T.C. Polych. (p. 73)
	<i>Over Entrance Interior</i>	S. ANDREA	G.T.C. White on blue. Tondo (p. 74)
		TWELVE MEDALLIONS OF APOSTLES	G.T.C. White on blue (pp. 74-79)
	OR S. MICHELE (E. Wall)	STEMMA OF MERCATANZIA	1463. G.T.C. Polych. (p. 104)
	<i>S. Wall</i>	STEMMA OF APOTHECARIES	G.T.C. Polych. (p. 104)
	<i>N. Wall</i>	STEMMA OF MASTERS IN WOOD AND STONE	G.T.C. Polych. (p. 106)
	S. MINIATO AL MONTE	DECORATIONS OF CAPPELLA DEL CROCIFISSO	G.T.C. (pp. 90-91)
	<i>Portuguese Chapel</i>	FIVE MEDALLIONS IN ROOF	G.T.C. (pp. 97-99)

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FLORENCE . .	SS. TRINITÀ (<i>Cap. del Sacramento</i>)	TOMB OF BISHOP FEDERIGHI	1454-1456. Marble, bordered with G.T.C. Executed for the Church of S. Pancrazio, removed later to S. Francesco di Paolo, Bellosguardo, and in 1898 to SS. Trinità. Inscribed: R. P. BENOTII DE FEDERIGIS EPI FESVLANI QVI VIR INTEGERIMÆ VITÆ SVMA CVM LAVDE VIXIT ANNO QVE M-CCCC-L DEFVNCTVS EST (pp. 93-96)
	OSPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI (<i>Gallery</i>)	MADONNA	G.T.C. White on blue (p. 121)
	PALAZZO SERRIS-TORI	STEMMA OF PAZZI FAMILY STEMMA OF SERRISTORI FAMILY	} G.T.C. Polych. From the Cortile of Palazzo Pazzi (Quaratesi), Via del Proconsolo. Removed 1899 (p. 106)
	VIA DELL'AGNOLO	MADONNA AND ANGELS	
IMPRUNETA . <i>Near Florence</i>	COLLEGIATA	ALTARPIECE AND DECORATIONS OF CAPPELLA DELLA MADONNA	G.T.C. White on blue. Lunette. Executed for the Convent of the Nuns of S. Giovanni Laterano. The building later became the Scuola dei Chericci (p. 125)
		ALTARPIECE AND DECORATIONS OF CAPPELLA DELLA CROCE CRUCIFIXION	G.T.C. With Andrea (pp. 109-112) G.T.C. With Andrea (pp. 113-117)
LONDON . . .	S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM	6740. STEMMA OF RENÉ D'ANJOU	G.T.C. Formerly enclosed in Tabernacle of Cappella della Croce (p. 117) G.T.C. Polych. Originally executed for outer wall of Villa della Loggia, near Florence, belonging to the Pazzi family. Later removed to the wall of Villa Panciatichi-Ximenes. From the Campana Collection (pp. 100-103)
		7609. STUDY FOR RELIEF OF TRUMPETERS OF CANTORIA	Clay. From the Campana Collection (p. 52)
PARIS	MUSÉE DE CLUNY	2793. TEMPERANCE 2794. JUSTICE	} G.T.C. Tondi (p. 100)
PERETOLA . . <i>Near Florence</i>	S. MARIA	TABERNACLE	
PISTOJA . . .	S. GIOVANNI FUORCIVITAS	VISITATION	1442. Marble with polych. G.T.C. decorations. From the Chapel of S. Luke, S. Maria Nuova (p. 69) G.T.C. White. Statue (p. 96)
URBINO . . .	S. DOMENICO (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	1449. G.T.C. White on blue. Lunette (p. 92)

WORKS OF ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA

All the works of Andrea are in glazed terra-cotta except when otherwise stated.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
AREZZO . . .	DUOMO (<i>Cappella della Madonna</i>)	SS. TRINITÀ	Polych. In small part (p. 170)
	S. MARIA IN GRADO (<i>1st Altar L.</i>)	MADONNA OF MERCY	Polych. In great part (p. 182)
	CAMPO SANTO (<i>Cappella</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Chiefly white on blue (p. 186)
	<i>Beyond the Gates</i> S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE	ALTARPIECE	Marble and Glazed Terra-cotta. In small part (pp. 192-195)
ASSISI	S. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI (<i>Cappella di S. Giuseppe</i>)	CORONATION OF VIRGIN	Tryptych. Polych. Centre only by A. (p. 182)
	<i>Cappella di S. Bonaventura</i>	S. FRANCESCO	Statue. Terra-cotta (p. 177)
BERLIN . . .	MUSEUM	116A. MADONNA	Chiefly white on blue. Perhaps only squeeze from lost original (p. 157)
		118. MADONNA AND SAINTS [Unnumbered] MADONNA	Chiefly white on blue. Formerly at Varramista near Pisa (p. 186)
BRANCOLI . .	PIEVE	S. GEORGE SLAYING DRAGON	White on blue. Variation of "Madonna of Architects"
Near Lucca			Polych. With Giovanni (p. 184)
BRUNSWICK .	COLL. OF FRAU VIEWEG	THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL	1475. Lunette. White on blue. Executed for the Church of S. Michele Archangels, Faenza (p. 159)
CREFELD . .	KAISER WILHELM MUSEUM	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Presented by Herr von Beckerath (p. 164)
FLORENCE . .	MUSEO NAZIONALE	10. MADONNA	White on blue. Right cheek of Madonna restored (p. 56)
		27. MADONNA AND ANGELS	Tondo (p. 178)
		74. "MADONNA OF ARCHITECTS"	White on blue (p. 181)
		75. BUST OF BOY	(p. 155)
		76. "MADONNA OF THE CUSHION"	White on blue. Probably design only. From the suppressed Convent of the Badia (p. 158)
	MUSEO DEL DUOMO (<i>Ent. Hall</i>)	MADONNA AND ANGELS	1489. White on blue. In small part (p. 179)
	S. CROCE (<i>Cappella Medici</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	White on blue. Inscribed: QVESTA OPA A FACTA FARE LA CONPAGNIA DI CASTEL S GIOVANNI PELANIMA DE BENEFAITORI E OPERATORI DI DETTA CONPAGNIA (p. 173)
	S. EGIDIO	MADONNA	White on blue (p. 195)
	MONTE DI PIETÀ (<i>Piazza S. Spirito</i>)	CHRIST AS MAN OF SORROWS	White on blue. Tympanum (p. 195)
	OR S. MICHELE (<i>S. Wall</i>)	STEMMA OF SILK-WEAVERS	Polych. Tondo (p. 154)

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FLORENCE . .	OSPEDALE DEGLI INNOCENTI (Loggia) <i>Cortile</i>	TEN MEDALLIONS WITH BAMBINI ANNUNCIATION	1463-1466. Chiefly Polych. (pp. 152-154). The other four are modern, executed by Ginori Fabbrica White on blue. Lunette. Formerly in Cappella Pagliesi inside the Church (p. 186) Polych. Lunette (p. 190)
	OSPEDALE DI S. PAOLO (Over Side Door) <i>Loggia</i>	MEETING OF SS. FRANCESCO AND DOMENICO TWO PORTRAIT HEADS OF ADMINISTRATORS MEDALLIONS OF SAINTS CHRIST-CHILD	Polych. (p. 190) Polych. In part (p. 191) White
FOIANO . . .	CASA SORBI (Borgo S. Jacopo)	ASCENSION	1502. In small part
GRADARA . .	S. DOMENICO	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Chiefly white on blue (p. 178)
Near Pesaro	ROCCA		
LONDON . . .	S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM	7630. MADONNA	White on blue. Frame Polych. From the Campana Coll.
	COLL. OF MISS FLORENCE GILBERT, 14 PEMBRIDGE GARDENS, W.	HEAD OF MADONNA	White. Fragment of Altarpiece (p. 176)
MILAN	COLL. OF PRINCE TRIVULZIO	BUST OF S. GIOVANNINO	Polych. The pendent bust is inferior school work
NEWPORT, U.S.A.	COLL. OF MR. W. K. VANDERBILT	MADONNA	From the Gavet Coll. (Not seen by the Author. Attribution of Professor Marquand)
NEW YORK, U.S.A.	METROPOLITAN MUSEUM	ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN	Much restored. From the private Chapel of the Duke of Piombino (p. 177)
	COLL. OF MR. HENRY G. MARQUAND	MADONNA	From the Gavet Collection (p. 157)
PALERMO . .	MUSEO CIVICO	"MADONNA OF THE CUSHION"	White on blue. Variation of No. 76. Museo Naz. Florence (p. 158)
PISTOJA . . .	DUOMO (Over Entrance)	MADONNA AND ANGELS: ROOF DECORATIONS	1505. White on blue. Tympanum chiefly executed by Giovanni (p. 195)
PRATO	DUOMO (Over Entrance)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	White on blue. Tympanum. Inscribed: oF.A. 1489 (p. 179)
	S. MARIA DELLE CARCERI	FOUR EVANGELISTS	1491? White on blue (p. 185)
RICKMANS-WORTH	COLL. OF MR. W. NEWALL	MADONNA	White on blue. There is an inferior version of this Madonna in S. Kens. Museum. No. 7547
SIENA	OSSERVANZA	CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN	Chiefly white on blue (p. 174)
(Near)			
S. CASCIANO	CAPPUCCINI	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Good version, probably by A.
LA VERNA . .	CHIESA MAGGIORE (Cappella Niccolini) <i>Cappella Brizzi</i>	ANNUNCIATION	White on blue (p. 162)
		MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	1479? Principal figures only by A. (p. 163)
	CHIESA DEGLI ANGELI	MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA	Chiefly white on blue (p. 166)

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
LA VERNA . .	CAPPELLA DELLE STIMATE	CRUCIFIXION	Central figure polych. (p. 168)
VIENNA . . .	COLL. OF PRINCE LICHTENSTEIN	MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF YOUTH	From Palazzo Antinori. (Not seen by the Author. Attribution of Dr. Bode)
VITERBO . . .	MUSEO COMUNALE	BUST OF PROTONOTARY ALMADIANO	1510. Terra-cotta. Inscribed: 10 · BAP · ALMADIANUS · MDX. (p. 197)
VOLTERRA . .	DUOMO	BUST OF S. LINO	Polych. (p. 198)

WORKS OF GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
ANGHIARI . .	S. BARTOLOMEO	NATIVITY WITH SAINTS	Polych.
	PIAZZI MIMELLI	MADONNA OF MERCY	Polych.
ANTONA . . .	S. GEMIGNANO	MADONNA AND SAINTS	(Not seen by Author. Att. of Signor Carocci)
ARCEVIA . . .	S. MEDARDO	ALTARPIECE	1513. Polych. (p. 234)
AREZZO . . .	DUOMO (<i>Cappella della Madonna</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. (p. 221)
		ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	Fragment. White on blue (p. 220)
<i>Beyond the gates.</i>	S. DOMENICO	S. PETER MARTYR	Polych. (p. 230)
	S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE	ALTARPIECE	Marble and glazed Terra-cotta. With Andrea (pp. 192-195)
BARGA . . .	CAPPUCINI	ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	Polych.
<i>Near Lucca</i>	CONVENTO DELLE MONACHE	ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	Polych.
BERLIN . . .	MUSEUM	121. STATUE OF BOY 128A. PIETÀ	Fountain figure from the Palazzo Pucci, Florence (p. 227) Painted Terra-cotta. Polych. From the Convent of Cappuccini, Florence (p. 239)
BIBBIENA . .	S. LORENZO	NATIVITY	Polych. Executed for Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi (p. 223)
		DEPOSITION	Chiefly white on blue. Executed for Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi (p. 239)
BOLSENA . .	DUOMO	TABERNACLE	Polych. Executed for Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, after Leo X. (p. 233)
BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO	S. CHIARA	NATIVITY	Polych. (p. 223)
BROOKLYN, U.S.A.	INSTITUTE	RESURRECTION	Polych. From the Villa Antinori, near Florence
CAMALDOLI .	SACRO EREMO (<i>Cappella di S. Antonio</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Chiefly white on blue (p. 221)
CITTÀ DI CASTELLO	PINACOTECA	NATIVITY	Polych. (p. 223)
		ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	Polych.
DARMSTADT .	GROSSHERZOG- LICHES MU- SEUM	FEMALE SAINT AND ANGELS	Lunette. Formerly in Florence.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
DARMSTADT .	GROSSH. MUS.	CHRIST AS MAN OF SORROWS	White. Good (p. 228, note 1)
EMPOLI . . .	S. MARIA A RIPA	STATUE OF S. LUCIA	Polych. Partly painted. Much repainted (p. 229)
FLORENCE . .	ACCADEMIA (<i>Cor-tile</i>)	RESURRECTION	Chiefly white on blue. Lunette. From the Convent of S. Chiara, Florence
	MUSEO NAZION-ALE	25. NATIVITY	1521. Polych. From the Convent of S. Girolamo delle Poverine, Florence. Inscribed: ANO MDXXI. HOC OPVS FECIT FIERI PHILIPPVS DICTVS THOME PHILIPPI DE PANICHIS. ANO. DNI. MD.XXI. On the other side: HOC OPVS FECIT IOAES ANDEE DE ROBIA AC APOSVIT HOC IN TEM-PORE DIE VLTIMA LVLIH ANO. DNI. M.D.XXI (p. 238)
		37. DEPOSITION	Polych. Lunette. From the Convent of the SS. Annunziata
		38. MADONNA AND SAINTS	From the Convent of S. Maria Assunta. Vallombrosa
		64. PIETÀ	Polych. From the Convent of the Agostiniane di S. Martino. Florence (p. 238)
		68. STATUE OF S. DOMENICO IN NICHE	Polych. From the Convent of S. Croce. Overthrown in the earthquake of 1895 and much damaged. Face badly restored (p. 231)
	MUSEO DEL DUOMO	MADONNA AND ANGELS	1489. White on blue. Lunette. With Andrea (p. 179)
	SS. APOSTOLI	TABERNACLE	(p. 218)
	S. CROCE (<i>Sacristy</i>)	CHRIST PRAYING	Half-length Statue. Polych. (p. 174)
	<i>Cappella Bardi-Serzelli</i>	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Partly painted (p. 239)
	S. MARIA NOVELLA	LAVABO	1497 (p. 217)
	OGNISSANTI (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	CORONATION OF VIRGIN	In part (p. 252)
Near	S. SALVADORE AL MONTE (<i>Over Sacristy Door</i>)	DEPOSITION	Painted Terra-cotta (p. 239)
Near	CERTOSA DI VAL D'EMA		
	<i>Small cloister</i>	S. LORENZO AND ANGELS	White on blue. Lunette
	<i>Large cloister (in angles)</i>	FOUR EVANGELISTS	1522 (pp. 240-243)
	<i>On Loggia</i>	MEDALLIONS: SS. MATTHEW. PHILIP. JAMES THE GREAT. JOHN EV. PETER. GEORGE ANT. OF PADUA. MAGDALEN. MARGARET. LUCIA. APPO-LONIA SEBAS-TIAN. JOHN BAPTIST AND THREE SAINTS (unknown by Author)	

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FLORENCE . .	OSPEDALE DI S. PAOLO (<i>Loggia</i>)	MEDALLIONS: CHRIST HEALING AGED MAN CHRIST HEALING YOUTH BUSTS OF SAINTS BUST OF S. PETER MARTYR	Polych. Polych. Polych. In part. All 1490-1495 (p. 191) Polych. (p. 235)
Near	VILLA ANTINORI	STEMMA OF ANTI-NORI FAMILY	Polych. The Resurrection formerly in the Cortile of this Villa is now in Brooklyn, U.S.A.
	CASA SORBI (<i>Borgo S. Jacopo</i>)	ANNUNCIATION	Polych. Placed there by the late Giuseppe Sorbi in 1830 (p. 229)
	CASA VIVIANI DELLA ROBBIA (<i>Piazza d'Azeglio</i>)	TWO FRAGMENTS OF FRIEZE OF FRUITS	Polych.
	VIA DELLA SCALA (<i>Over entrance of Suppressed Convent of S. Jacopo di Ripoli</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Lunette (p. 234)
	VIA NAZIONALE (<i>Over suppressed Convento di Fuligno</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	1522. Polych. Inscribed: QVESTO DEVOTO TABERNACHOLO ANO FATTO FARE GLVOMINI DEL REAME DI BELIEME POSTO IN VIA SANCTA CHARACTERINA M.D.XXII (pp. 213 and 239)
FIESOLE . . .	DUOMO (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	S. ROMOLO IN NICHE	1521. Polych. From the Palace of the Bishops of Fiesole. Inscribed: SCS ROMVLVS EP FESVLANVS. And above: TEMPORE RD EPI FESVLANI GVLIELMI DE FOLCHIS ANNO DOMINI MDXXI. (<i>Stemma</i> above)
	SEMINARIO	MADONNA AND SAINTS	1520. White on blue. From the Palace of the Bishops of Fiesole. Inscribed: GVILIELMVS DE FOLCHIS FESVL FIERI FECIT ANNO DOMINI MDXX.
FOIANO . . .	COLLEGIATA	MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA	1502. Inscribed: QVESTA TAVOLA A FATTO FARE QVIRICO DI BARTOLOMMEO DI SER IACOPO FATTO ADI 12 APRILE 1502 (p. 167)
Near	S. FRANCESCO	CHRIST IN GLORY	White on blue (p. 221)
GALLICANO . .	S. JACOPO	MADONNA AND SAINTS	White on blue
Near Bagni di Lucca			
LONDON . . .	S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM	252. MODEL FOR NATIVITY 476. BUST OF CHRIST 4412. ADORATION OF MAGI 5890. HEAD OF APOSTLE MADONNA EN-THRONED	Terra-cotta. Good sketch (p. 228, Note 1) Polych. Polych. Executed for the Albizzi Family (p. 224) Fragment of large Altarpiece
MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE	ENTRANCE TOWER		Polych. (p. 240). The Statue of S. Benedict on the other side is inferior work
MONTEPULCIANO	ORATORIO DELLA MISERICORDIA	ANNUNCIATION ON EITHER SIDE OF TABERNACLE	(p. 219)

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
MONTEPULCI- ANO MONTEVARCHI	PALAZZO PUB- BLICO COLLEGIATA (<i>Cappella della Fraternità</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS GUIDO GUERRA PRESENTING RELIC TO PRIESTS OF MONTEVARCHI	White on blue. From the Cappella delle Carceri From the Terrazzina outside the Church where the Relics were exhibited (p. 221)
PARIS	LOUVRE	S. SEBASTIAN } S. JOHN BAPTIST } 431. STATUE OF MADONNA 441. BUST OF YOUTH	From the Cappella della Reliquia (p. 222) Polych.
PESARO . . .	MUSEO DI MAIO- LICHE	287. MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF WARRIOR	From the Campana Coll. White on blue (p. 230)
PISA	CAMPO SANTO	ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	1520. Polych. Mostly painted. Exe- cuted for the Church of S. Marco di Calcesana. Inscribed: TEPOR PREBITERI FRANCISCI MDXX. AV- GVSTINI VRBANI OPERARII (p. 237)
PISTOJA . . .	DUOMO	MADONNA AND ANGELS	White on blue. With Andrea (p. 196)
PRATO	OSPEDALE DEL CEPPO S. ANTONIO ABATE	DECORATIONS OF FAÇADE S. ANTONIO AND ANGELS	Polych. (pp. 245-253) Polych. Lunette (p. 227)
	S. MARIA DI BUON- CONSIGLIO (<i>Over Entrance</i>) <i>Inside</i>	S. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE AND ANGELS MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Lunette (p. 227)
		STATUES OF SS. GIULIANO AND ANSANO	White on blue. Replica of Andrea's Gradara Altarpiece. Restored Chiefly white (p. 226)
	S. MARIA DELLE CARCERI	DECORATIONS, GARLANDS, STEMMI AND FRIEZE	(p. 185)
	S. NICCOLÒ DA TOLENTINO (<i>Sacristy</i>)	LAVABO	1520. Polych. From the Convent of S. Anna. Inscribed: ANNO. M.D.XX. AVERARDVS ALAMANNI. DE. SALVI- ATVS. FIERI. FECIT. (p. 236)
RIFREDI . . . <i>Near Florence</i>	S. STEFANO IN PANE	TABERNACLE WITH STAT- UETTES OF ISAIAH AND MALACHI	Polych. Enclosing painting of Fifteenth Century (p. 236)
SANTAFIORA .	PIEVE	BAPTISMAL FONT MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA	(p. 219) Variation of Andrea's Altarpiece, La Verna (p. 168)
SIENA	OSSERVANZA	STATUES OF ARCHANGEL GABRIEL AND MADONNA	Chiefly white (p. 225)
SETTIGNANO . <i>Near Florence</i>	COLL. OF MAR- CHESE VIVIANI DELLA ROBBIA	BUST OF CHRIST	Polych. (p. 234, Note 1)
STIA	PALAZZO COM- MUNALE	MADONNA	(p. 228)
TRAPANI . . .	S. MARIA DEL GESÙ	MADONNA	(p. 226)

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
LA VERNA . .	CHIESA MAGGIORE	ASCENSION	White on blue. Executed for the Ridolfi Family of Florence. Originally over High Altar. Probably designed by Andrea (pp. 170 and 220)
	1st Altar R.	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Chiefly white on blue (p. 221)
VITERBO . . .	S. MARIA DELLE QUERCIA		
	Over Chief Ent.	MADONNA AND SAINTS	All 1509-10. White on blue. Lunettes (p. 196)
	Over R. Ent.	S. PETER MARTYR AND ANGELS	
	Over L. Ent.	S. THOMAS AQUINAS AND ANGELS	
VOLTERRA . .	S. GIROLAMO	LAST JUDGMENT	1501. Polych. Inscribed: QVESTA TAVOLA AFFATTO FARE MICHEL-AGNIOLO DI NICHOLAO CEHEREGLI MCCCCI (p. 224)

WORKS BY THE ATELIER

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
ANCHIANO . .	PARROCHIALE DI BORGO A MOZZANO	TABERNACLE	
AQUILA . . .	S. BERNARDINO	ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	
		CORONATION OF VIRGIN	
ARCEVIA . . .	S. MARIA DEL SOCCORSO	ANNUNCIATION	Attributed by Professor Marquand to Fra Mattia. ("Search for Della Robbia," Scribner, 1893, p. 698)
AREZZO . . .	DUOMO (<i>Cappella della Madonna</i>)	MADONNA WITH KNEELING SAINT	Chiefly white on blue. Sch. of A. Variation of "Madonna of the Cushion." Much restored. Angels and cherubs modern stucco
		MADONNA ADORING THE CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A. Much restored. Only the Child and the figure of the Virgin to the waist original. The rest modern stucco addition
	SS. ANNUNZIATA	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych.
	BADIA (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Lunette
	OSPEDALE	MEDALLION WITH BAMBINO	Polych. Imitation of Innocenti Bambini (p. 154, Note 1)
Outside town .	CONVENT OF CAPPUCCINI (<i>In Garden</i>)	STATUE OF S. ANNA	Polych.
Outside town .	PADRI RIFORMATI	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Chiefly white on blue

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
AREZZO . . .	<i>Over door of Sacristy</i>	S. FRANCESCO RECEIVING STIGMATA	Polych.
ASCIANO . . .	S. FRANCESCO	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych.
BADIA T. ED-ALDA	S. MICHELE	MADONNA AND SAINTS SS. DOMENICO, SEBASTIAN AND ANTONIO ABATE	Chiefly white on blue. Sch. of A.
		MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA	White on blue. Sch. of A.
BALZE	S. MARIA	TABERNACLE MADONNA AND SAINTS	
BARBERINO DI VALDELLA	PALAZZO COMUNALE	THREE STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	Polych.
BARGA ¹ . . .	DUOMO	TABERNACLE	Chiefly white on blue. Version of Bol-sena Tabernacle
	CONVENT OF CAPPUCCINI	NATIVITY S. FRANCESCO RECEIVING STIGMATA	Polych. Polych.
BASSA	S. MARIA	CIBORIO	
<i>Near Cerreto Guidi</i>			
BERLIN . . .	MUSEUM	50A. MADONNA 112C. KNEELING MADONNA 112D. MADONNA 113. MADONNA AND ANGELS 114. MADONNA AND SAINTS 115. MADONNA AND ANGELS 116. MADONNA 116B. MADONNA AND CHERUBS 116D. MADONNA 116E. MADONNA SEATED ON GROUND 116F. MADONNA SEATED ON ROCK 116H. MADONNA 116K. MADONNA 116L. LARGE MADONNA 117. MADONNA 117A. DANCING CUPID 117B. PIETÀ	Polych. Painted Terra-cotta Polych. Statuette Polych. Painted Terra-cotta Tympanum. Terra-cotta. From the Alessandri Palace, Florence Stucco coloured to imitate bronze. Bought in Venice Painted Terra-cotta. Bought in Venice Polych. Painted stucco. Bought in Florence Polych. Painted stucco. Late variation of Impruneta Madonna Painted stucco Painted stucco Terra-cotta Polych. Painted stucco Polych. Painted stucco Polych. Painted stucco Polych. Painted stucco. Bought in Florence Polych. Painted stucco

¹ The Madonna with SS. Rock and Sebastian in the Cloister is not of the Robbia school.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
BERLIN . . .	MUSEUM	119. MADONNA AND ANGELS	White on blue. Lunette. Sch. of A. Variation of Pistoja Tympanum. From the Bartholdi Collection
		119A. ANNUNCIATION.	Polych. Predella Scene
		120. STATUETTE OF CHRIST IN NICHE	Bought in Florence
		121A. STATUE OF S. DOROTHEA	Polych. Painted stucco
		121B. FIGURE OF BOY WITH DOGS	Polych. Painted stucco
		122. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Polych. Tondo. From the Bartholdi Collection
		123. ANNUNCIATION	Lunette. Sch. of A. The frame is modern. From the Bartholdi Collection
		124. MADONNA	Chiefly white on blue. Tondo. Sch. of A.
		125. MADONNA	Chiefly white on blue. Tondo
		126. HOLY FAMILY	Chiefly white on blue. Tondo
		127. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Terra-cotta
		128. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Terra-cotta. Repainted from the Bartholdi Collection
		129. MADONNA AND SAINTS	Entirely white. Tondo. Bought in Rome
		130. RESURRECTION	Polych. Restored. From the Bartholdi Collection
		131. STATUE OF POMONA	Polych. Bought in Rome
		132. STATUETTE OF BAPTIST	White. From the Bartholdi Collection
		133. ANGEL BEARING CANDELABRA	White. From the Minutoli Collection
		134. MADONNA AND S. ANNA	Polych. Painted. From the Bartholdi Collection
		135. STATUE OF S. ANTONIO	Polych. Painted. Bought in Florence
		136. STATUE OF S. FRANCESCO	Polych.
		137. STATUETTE OF DAVID	Polych. From the Bartholdi Collection
		138. MADONNA	Polych. Tondo. Stemma of the Apothecaries. Inscribed : A.D. MDXXXIII MESIS MAI. From the Bartholdi Collection. Originally in the Porta Rossa, Florence
		150. MADONNA	Polych. Tondo. Painted stucco
		157. PIETÀ	Polych. Painted stucco. Late imitation of Luca
		207. STATUETTE OF MAGDALEN [Not numbered]	Polych. Painted stucco
		MADONNA AND ANGELS	Sch. of Luca

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
BERLIN . . .	MUSEUM	[Property of Kaiser Friedrich Museum] MADONNA	White. Sch. of Luca. Late variation of "Madonna of the Apple"
		[Gift of Herr Friedländer] MADONNA	Sch. of A. Variation of Madonna, No. 10. Museo Nazionale. Florence
		[Gift] HEAD of WARRIOR	Imitation of Verrocchio
		[Gift] S. MARY OF EGYPT BOY WITH STEMMA	} Statuettes
		MADONNA IN NICHE	
	COLL. OF HERR VON BECKE-RATH	MADONNA AND ANGELS	Terra-cotta, gilded. Tondo
		FEMALE SAINT WITH SERPENTS	Polych. Tondo
		S. GIOVANNINO MADONNA SEATED ON CLOUDS	Bust. White. Sch. of A. White on blue. Sch. of Luca
		MADONNA MADONNA	Polych. Painted stucco White on blue. Sch. of A.
		LEDA	White on blue. Small Lunette
BIBBIENA . . . <i>Outside town</i>	S. MARIA DEL SASSO	MADONNA	White on blue. Sch. of A.
		MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A.
	<i>Round Central Tabernacle</i>	TWO MEDALLIONS WITH HEADS OF BISHOPS	Chiefly white on blue
		CHRIST AND BAPTIST IN DESERT	Polych. Imitation of Verrocchio
BIVIGLIANO . . . <i>Near Vaglia</i>	S. ROMOLO	FRIEZE OF CHERUBS AND DOVES	White Medallions on blue ground
		MADONNA AND SAINTS	Chiefly white on blue. Inscribed: QUESTA TAVOLA A FACTO FARE FIORA E CHECO DI CIAPO
BOLSENA. . .	<i>In Sacristy</i>	TABERNACLE	Polych.
		MADONNA AND SAINTS	White on blue. Lunette
	<i>(Over Ent.) Over Sacristy Door</i>	S. LEONARDO AND TWO PENITENTS	White on blue. Lunette
		ALTARPIECE WITH MIRACLE OF BOLSENA	
BORGOS. LORENZO	PALAZZO PRE-TORIO	RECUMBENT STATUE OF S. CRISTINA	Terra-cotta. By Benedetto Buglioni (p. 252)
		TEN STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	Polych.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
BORGO S. LORENZO	S. CATERINA CONFRATERNITÀ DELLA NATIVITÀ DELLA MADONNA	VISITATION STATUETTE OF MADONNA	Polych. Polych.
BORGO S. SEPOLCRO	S. STEFANO A GREZZANO DUOMO	TABERNACLE	Polych.
	PALAZZO PRETORIO	TABERNACLE STATUES OF SS. ROMUALDO AND BENEDETTO	Tondo Polych.
	VIA S. NICCOLÒ, (No. 10)	MADONNA SIXTEEN STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	Polych.
BOSTON, U.S.A.	MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS	STEMMA OF CAMALDOESI NATIVITY	(Presented by Mr. Quincy A. Shaw.) Sch. of A.
		MADONNA	(Presented by Mr. C. Perkins.) Sch. of A.
	COLL. OF MR. QUINCY A. SHAW	MADONNA	Version of the "Gavet Madonna" now in the collection of Mr. H. G. Marquand, New York
BRANCOLI . . .	S. LORENZO	STATUE OF S. LORENZO	White. Sch. of A.
BUGGIANO . . .	PALAZZO PRETORIO	FIVE STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	Polych.
CAIANO . . .	CAPPELLA PAS-SALACQUA	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych.
CALENZANO . . .	S. PIERO A CASAGLIA (Capp. della Conf. della Croce)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Chiefly white on blue
CAMBRIDGE . . .	COLL. OF PROF. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT, F.R.S.	MADONNA	Sch. of A.
CAMOGGIANO . . .	S. ANDREA	BAPTISMAL FONT MADONNA	
CAMPI	S. MARTINO	STEMMA STATUES OF SS. ROCK AND SEBASTIAN IN NICHEs	Polych.
Near	S. PIETRO A PONTE (Over Entrance)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Lunette
CASCIO	SS. STEFANO E LORENZO	STATUE OF MADONNA	
CASELLINA E TORRI	ORATORIO DELLA FAMIGLIA LAZZERI	MADONNA	White on blue
Near	NEAR S. MARTINO ALLA PALMA (On Wall)	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	White on blue
CASTAGNOLO . . .	S. MARIA	MADONNA	
Near Lastra a Signa			
CASTELNUOVO DI GARFAGNANA	S. PIETRO	S. GIUSEPPE AND ANGELS	

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
CASTIGLIONE FIORENTINO	COLLEGIATA	ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN TABERNACLE WITH SEATED FIGURE OF S. ANTONIO ABATE	From the suppressed Church of S. Antonio Abate
	BATTISTERIO VECCHIO PIEVE VECCHIA	BAPTISM OF CHRIST STEMMA (S. MICHELE ARCH-ANGELO)	
	PIAZZA DEL MUNICIPIO	TWO STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	
CASOLE . . . <i>Near Bagni di Lucca</i>	SS. ANDREA E DONATO	STATUE OF MADONNA	
CAVRIGLIA . .	PIEVE	BAPTIST IN DESERT, BUSTS OF SS. STEFANO AND ROMOLO, ANGEL BEARING CANDELABRA	
CERRETO GUIDI	S. LEONARDO	HEXAGONAL FONT, WITH SCENES FROM LIFE OF BAPTIST	1511 (p. 232)
	S. MARIA ASSUNTA	TABERNACLE	
CERVALDO . .	PALAZZO VICARIALE	SIXTEEN STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	
CETONA . . .	S. FRANCESCO	MADONNA	
CINTOLA ALTA	PIEVE	ANNUNCIATION	Sch. of A.
CITERNA . . .	S. FRANCESCO	ALTARPIECE	Sch. of A.
	ORATORIO DELLA CONCEZIONE	ALTARPIECE	Sch. of A.
CITTÀ DI CASTELLO	PINACOTECA	MADONNA	
		ANNUNCIATION	Polych.
		TWO PUTTI WITH GARLANDS	Polych.
		ADORATION OF MAGI	Polych. Lunette. From the Church of S. Cecilia
COLCELLATO .	S. TOMMASO	SS. TRINITÀ WITH SAINTS	White on blue. Lunette
COLLE DI VALDELSA	S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE	GARLAND ROUND WINDOW	Polych.
COLLINA . . .	S. LUCIA	STEMMA	Polych.
<i>Near Calenzano</i>			
COLOGNE . .	INDUSTRIAL MUSEUM	FOUR ANGELS SUPPORTING MANDORLA	Fragment of Lunette formerly containing figure of Madonna. (See C. de Fabriczy, "Arch. Stor. dell' Arte," 1890, p. 162)
CONVERTOSE . <i>Near Greve</i>	S. SILVESTRO	CIBORIO FRIEZE WITH SYMBOLS OF PASSION	
CORNOCCHIO . <i>Near Scarperia</i>	S. AGATA	MADONNA AND ANGELS TABERNACLE	Lunette. Sch. of A.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
CRASCIANA . . <i>Near Bagni di Lucca</i>	COLLEGIATA	STATUE OF MADONNA	White
DICOMANO . .	PIEVE DI S. MARIA	GOD THE FATHER WITH SS. ANNA AND GIOVACHINO	
	CONVENTO DI S. FRANCESCO	TABERNACLE SMALL TABERNACLE. MADONNA	White
DOCCIOLINO .	CHURCH	MADONNA and SAINTS	Polych.
EMPOLI . . .	MUSEO DELLA COLLEGIATA	53. MADONNA IN NICHE	White on blue. Inscribed: DEL PREZZO · DEGLEBREII · PER · LORO · ERORE · FERNO · A · LAVDE · DI · DIO · FARE QUESTA · GLI · OTTO · SEDETE · NEL 18 DOMENICO · PARIGI · QVI · PRETORE · (above niche a Garland)
		54. GOD THE FATHER	Chiefly white on blue. Tondo
		55. MADONNA AND ANGELS	Tondo
		56. LARGE NICHE	Polych. The stone Madonna within is not of the Robbia school
		57. S. ANSELMO ENTHRONED WITH SAINTS	Polych.
		58. ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	Polych. From S. Maria a Ripa
		60. MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Painted Terra-cotta. Probably by Ciccio da Gambassi
<i>Outside Town</i>	<i>Before Altar</i> S. MARIA A RIPA	PAVEMENT MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Painted Terra-cotta. Only frame glazed
		STATUE OF S. SEBASTIAN	Polych. Painted Terra-cotta
FLORENCE . .	MUSEO NAZIONALE	1. MADONNA IN GLORY	Imitating style of Rossellino. Formerly in the Convent of S. Lucia, later in the Accademia
		2. MADONNA	Tondo
		3. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	From S. Marco
		4. FRAGMENT OF NICHE	Polych.
		5. MADONNA	Tondo. Varied repetition of No. 2
		6. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	From the suppressed Convent of S. Paolino
		7. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Tondo. From the Convent of Monte Oliveto
		8. NATIVITY	From the Accademia Collection
		9. HEAD OF CÆSAR	Tondo. From the Accademia Collection
		11. FLAGELLATION	Part of Predella. From the Accademia Collection, formerly in the Convent of S. Lucia
		12. NATIVITY	Tondo. From the Accademia Collection

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FLORENCE . .	MUSEO NAZIONALE	13. S. AGOSTINO	Lunette. From the Accademia Collection. Originally in the Convent of the SS. Annunziata
		14. HOLY DOVE	Fragment of Altarpiece. From the Accademia
		15. ANNUNCIATION	From the Accademia Collection. Originally in the Convent of S. Maria del Fiore di Lapo, near Fiesole
		16. ASCENSION	Companion part of Predella to No. 11. From the Accademia Collection, formerly in the Convent of S. Lucia
		17. HEAD OF CÆSAR	Tondo. From the Accademia Collection
		18. MADONNA	
		19. NOLI ME TANGERE	Polych. From the Manifattura dei Tabacchi, Via Panicale
		20. GARLAND OF FRUITS	Polych. Gift of the Signora Anna Corsi, vedova Insom. The terracotta Stemma of the Rucellai it encloses does not belong to it
		21. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	
		22. MADONNA	White on blue. From the Accademia Collection, formerly in the Convent of S. Felicità
		23. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	From the Accademia Collection
		24. CHRIST AND THE SAMARITAN	
		25. TABERNACLE	Polych. Lunette. From the Conservatorio della Concezione di Foligno
	SALA DELLE CERAMICHE		From the Convent of S. Elisabetta in Capitoio di Firenze
		30. MADONNA	White on blue
		32. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Tondo
		33. TABERNACLE	
		34. MADONNA	
		35. MADONNA OF MERCY	From the Convent of S. Maria del Carmine. Inscribed: QVESTA FECE FARE AGNIOLO DI BONAIVTO DI NIC° SERAGLI P. RIMEDIO DEL ANIMA SVA E DELA SVA DONA ANO. MDXXVIII
		36. STATUETTE OF CHRIST	From the Convent of Monte Uliveto
		39. STATUETTE OF CHRIST-CHILD	
		40. S. GIUSEPPE }	Tondi. From the Convent of Monte Uliveto
		41. S. AGOSTINO }	
		42. STEMMA	Tondo. Inscribed: S. ARCHANGIOLO DI LORENZO SPIGLIATI E SVORVM. AN. S. M. DXXII
		43. STEMMA	From the Convent of S. Vivaldo. Montaione
		44. MADONNA	Polych. Flesh not glazed. Tondo. From the Convent of Ognissanti
		45. ASCENSION	From the Convent of S. Vivaldo. Montaione
		46. FRAGMENT OF FRIEZE	From the Mensa Arcivescovile. Fiesole

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FLORENCE . .	SALA DELLE CERAMICHE	47. MADONNA A D O R I N G CHRIST-CHILD	Tondo. From the Palazzo Medici (Riccardi)
		48. MADONNA A D O R I N G CHRIST-CHILD	Square plaque inserted in Tondo. Apparently made up. From the Convent of Cappuccini
		49. MADONNA A D O R I N G CHRIST-CHILD	
		50. N O L I M E TANGERE	Polych. From the Convent of S. Croce
		51. RESURREC- TION	From the Convent of Monte Oliveto. Inscribed: A. D. S. MDX.
		52. MADONNA	From the Convent of S. Giovanni Battista. Desole
		53. MADONNA AND SAINTS	From the Convent of S. Maria Assunta, Vallombrosa
		54. MIRACLE OF S. BENEDICT	Polych. In frame. Imitating painting
		55. S. URSULA	From the Manifattura dei Tabacchi, Via Panicale
		56. NATIVITY	
		57. N O L I M E TANGERE	Polych. By the same hand as No. 19. From the Conservatorio della Concezione di Foligno
		58. A PROPHET	From the Convent of Monte Oliveto
		59. S. FRANCESCO	Companion to No. 55. From the Manifattura dei Tabacchi, Via Panicale
		60. S. MARTA AND ANGELS	Lunette. From the Convent of S. Marta
		61. STATUE OF SEATED MADONNA	Polych. Flesh not glazed
		62. CHERUBS. STEMMA OF CHAPTER OF DUOMO	
		63. ANGEL BEARING CANDELABRUM	From the Convent of Monte Oliveto
		65. CHERUBS. STEMMA OF CHAPTER OF DUOMO	Companion to No. 62
		66. ANGEL BEARING CANDELABRUM	Companion to No. 63. From the Convent of Monte Oliveto
		67. HEAD OF LADY	Polych. Tondo
		69. PREDELLA WITH CHRIST AND SAINTS	Polych. From the Convent of Cappuccine, Montaglio
		70. HEAD OF BACCHUS	Polych.
		71. MADONNA A D O R I N G CHRIST-CHILD	
		72. HEAD OF S. CATERINA	
		73. HEAD OF LADY	Polych.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FLORENCE . .	SALA DELLE CERAMICHE	77. TABERNACLE	From the Oratory of Padri dell' Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri, annexed to the Church of S. Firenze
		78. ANNUNCIATION	Lunette. From the Convent of the SS. Annunziata
		176. THREE ANGELS	Polych. Painted Terra-cotta
	<i>Cortile</i>	STEMMA OF PODESTÀ WITH ANGEL BEARING CARTELLO	Inscribed : INSIĞIA · PREST · D · IO · GALI · EAT · TROTTI · ALEXANDRINI · IVR̄CO · SVLT · EQVISIS · ET · COMIT · AC · MILAN · ĖSIS · DVCALIS · PATRICI · PRETORIS · FLOREN · ANO · VITE · ET · MORTIS · MAGISCI · LAVRENTII · MEDICEI · 1492
		STEMMA OF PODESTÀ	Inscribed : INCHILITA NICHOLAOS FEC LELIVS ARMADIMISIT HIC MILES ET COMES LEGVQEITER PRES CHVI HEC SIGNIA DEDIT POPVLVS NOSTER QVESANATVS PROMERITVS PRETOR DVM CVNTIS CVRA MINISTRAT GENVIT QVEM TRIVIA TELLVS
	<i>Loggia</i>	STEMMA OF PODESTÀ WITH ANGEL BEARING CARTELLO	Inscribed : MAGI · AC · GNOSI · EQVITIS · COMITISQ · PETRI · SIMONIS · DEISLERIIS · DEEXIO · FLORENTIE · PRETORIS · 1492
		SMALL STEMMA OF PODESTÀ	
	ACCADEMIA (<i>Entrance</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Lunette
		MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA	Chiefly white on blue. Lunette. Free version of the Santa Fiora Altarpiece
	MUSEO DEL DUOMO (<i>Entrance Hall</i>)	GOD THE FATHER AND ANGELS	Polych. Flat painting. Lunette. Imitation of the style of Alessio Baldovinetti (p. 232)
		STEMMA DELL' ARTE DELLA LANA	Polych. Lunette
	<i>Sala 1°</i>	S. ZANOBI AND ANGELS	1495. Lunette. Restored
	<i>Sala delle Cantorie</i>	MAGDALEN IN DESERT	Polych. Lunette
	GALLERIA BUONARROTI	8. S. JEROME IN PENITENCE	Polych. Small square <i>plaque</i>
		II. STATUETTE OF POMONA	
		13. SEATED PUTTO	The tambourine, hands, and right arm are stucco restorations. The brackets of neither this nor the Pomona belong to the original works
		14. MADONNA	White on blue. Sch. of A.
		MADONNA	White on blue. Sch. of Luca
		MADONNA SEATED ON GROUND	White on blue
		GARLAND	Polych. (These three works were removed hither from the gallery of S. Maria Nuova in 1901)
	SS. ANNUNZIATA (<i>Cappella di S. Luca</i>)	S. JOHN EV. BUST	Polych.
	S. AMBROGIO	TWO ANGELS BEARING CANDLABRA ON BRACKETS	White. According to Milanese executed in 1513 (Vas., ii. 182, Note 2)

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FLORENCE . .	BADIA (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	MADONNA AND ANGELS	White on blue. Lunette. By Benedetto Buglioni, 1504. The garland is modern (p. 253)
	S. BARNABA (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	MADONNA	Polych. Inscribed: SVB GVBERATIOE ARTIS AROMATARO
	S. CROCE (<i>Cappella Medici</i>)	PIETÀ	White on blue. Lunette. Sch. of A. (p. 174)
		BUSTS OF SS. FRANCESCO AND BONAVENTURA	Polych.
		MADONNA	Imitation of Donatellesque school
	<i>Cappella Castellani</i>	STATUES OF SS. FRANCESCO AND BERNARDINO	White. Sch. of A.
	<i>Cloister, Cappella Vieri-Canigiani</i>	TABERNACLE	Sch. of A. Inscribed: SANCTE PATER BART·ORA PRO NOBIS (p. 183)
	S. LUCIA DE' MAGNOLI (<i>Via dei Bardi, over entrance</i>)	S. LUCIA AND ANGELS	By Benedetto Buglioni (p. 252)
	S. MARIA DELLA MISERICORDIA	MADONNA AND SAINTS	White on blue. From the Badia of Fiesole. Removed hither in 1812. The whole of the top part from above the head of the Virgin is modern addition
	<i>Entrance Hall</i>	TWO ANGELS BEARING CANDELABRA	White
	S. MARIA NOVELLA (<i>Chapel in Cloister</i>)	NOLI ME TANGERE	Polych.
	S. MARIA NUOVA (<i>In Vaults</i>)	PIETÀ	Polych. Lunette. Inscribed: HOC OPVS FIERI FECIT MAGVS EQVES ET COMES DNE VALERIVS POTESTAS VNIVS INCLITE CIVITATIS 1476 ET 1494 CVIVS ARMA CANIS BICAVDVS DESI DEMOSTRAT
	<i>Over Entrance, Right</i>	MADONNA	Unglazed Terra-cotta, Tondo
	<i>Sala dell Amministrazione</i>	189. MADONNA	Tondo
	S. MINIATO AL MONTE		
	<i>Over High Altar</i>	CRUCIFIX	White and blue (p. 91)
	<i>Inner Sacristy</i>	TWO STATUETTES OF SAINTS	Polych.
	OGNISSANTI (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	CORONATION OF VIRGIN	Tympanum. The upper part by Benedetto Buglioni. The lower by Giovanni (p. 252)
	S. PAOLINO	STEMMA OF PANDOLFINI	Polych.
	CONFRATERNITÀ DI S. PIER MAGGIORE		
	(<i>Via Gino Capponi over entrance</i>)	ANNUNCIATION, ON EITHER SIDE BROTHERS OF MISERICORDIA	Polych. Lunette. By Benedetto Buglioni?
	<i>In passage within</i>	CHRIST AND ANGELS	Polych.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FLORENCE . .	S. SALVATORE AL MONTE (<i>2nd Altar L.</i>)	PIETÀ	Polych.
	CHIOSTRO DELLO SCALZO (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	BAPTIST AND TWO MONKS	Polych. Lunette
	S. SIMONE	TABERNACLE	Enclosing Shrine of Fourteenth Century, attributed to Orcagna, in which is a Fifteenth Century Bust of a Lady of the Risaliti Family. The Tabernacle is inscribed: PEL ANIMA DI GIERI RISALITI E JACOPO SVO FIGLIOVOLO E DISCIENDENTI DI DETTO IACOPO 1363 (p. 172, Note 1)
	PALAZZO CANGIANI (<i>Via de' Bardi</i>)	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A. Tondo
		MADONNA AND ANGELS	
	<i>In Cortile</i>	HOLY FAMILY	Polych. Imitation of Raffaele's "Belle Jardinière" (p. 233)
	PALAZZO FERRONI (<i>Via Tornabuoni, over Inner Door</i>)	MADONNA, SAINTS AND KNEELING DONOR	Lunette
	CASA SORBI (<i>Borgo S. Jacopo</i>)	TWO ANGELS THREE CHERUBS BUNCH OF FRUITS	} Fragments collected by the late Giuseppe Sorbi. Placed here in 1830
		NATIVITY	
	PALAZZO VENTURI-GINORI (<i>Via della Scala</i>)		From the Villa Belmonte all' Antella
	COLL. OF SIGNOR BARDINI	MADONNA	Sch. of A.
		MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A.
		MADONNA	
		TWO MEDALLIONS WITH HEADS	Terra-cotta figure on glazed background
		TWO BUSTS	
		THE BAPTIST	
		SEVERAL STEMMI, &C.	
	COLL. OF MR. HOUGHTON (<i>Lung' Arno Acciaioletti</i>)	NATIVITY	
	PIAZZA S. AMBROGIO	STATUE OF S. AMEROGIO IN NICHE	Polych.
	VIA S. GALLO (<i>No. 70</i>)	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Polych.
	<i>Corner of Via Gueifa</i>	MEDALLION WITH SACRED DOVE	
	VIA NAZIONALE (<i>No. 16</i>)	MADONNA	Late imitation of Luca
	VIA DELLA SCALA (<i>Corner of Via Oricellari</i>)	MADONNA	

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
<i>Near Florence</i>	CERTOSA DI VAL D'EMA (<i>Large Cloister</i>)	FORTY-SEVEN MEDALLIONS WITH HEADS OF PROPHETS, SAINTS, &c.	1522. There are sixty-seven in all, twenty of which seem executed by Giovanni himself
	ATRIUM OF CHURCH	CHRIST BEARING CROSS	Polych. The lower part is modern stucco addition
	FONTELERTA (<i>Coll. of Conte Rasponi</i>)	NATIVITY	Polych. Executed for the Gondi family
	POGGIO GHERARDO (<i>Coll. of Mrs. Ross</i>)	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Version of No. 3. Museo Nazionale
	VILLA CAPPONI (<i>Coll. of Mrs. Scott</i>)	STEMMA	Polych. Tondo
	VINCIGLIATA (<i>Coll. of Mr. Leader: Cloister</i>)	DEAD CHRIST WITH TWO PENITENTS	From the Ritiro Capponi, Florence
	<i>Dining Hall</i> ¹	TWO ANGELS BEARING CANDELABRA	Polych.
	<i>Upper Cortile</i>	MADONNA WITH SS. FRANCESCO AND CHIARA STATUETTES	Polych. Head of Madonna restored. From the Monastero di Monte Domini, now Pia Casa di Lavoro
		TWO SMALL PREDELLA SCENES: PIETÀ AND NATIVITY	
		SMALL TABERNACLE	
		GARLAND	Restored in top sections. The Madonna it encloses is modern
	<i>Ent. to Chapel</i>	CHRIST AS MAN OF SORROWS	Restored
FABBRICA DI PECCIOLI	<i>Chapel</i>	ANNUNCIATION	Polych. Tympanum. From the Pia Casa di Lavoro
		MADONNA IN NICHE	1526. Polych. From the Palazzo Corsi, Florence
	<i>Garden</i>	FRAGMENT OF GARLAND	Surrounding old stone Madonna
	PIEVE	BAPTISM OF CHRIST	
FAENZA . . .	MUSEO	STATUE OF S. ANTONIO	
	FIBBIANA. . .	FRAGMENTS	
	<i>Near Montelupo</i>	MADONNA	Polych.
	FIESOLE . . .	STATUE OF S. ROCK	
	S. MARIA PRIMERANA	CRUCIFIXION	White on blue. Sch. of A. The foot of Cross and arms of Magdalen restored. The altarpiece opposite, S. Michael, is modern painted stucco
	S. ANSANO ²	MEDALLION WITH CLASSIC HEAD	

¹ The marble statuette of a Shepherd, attributed to Luca, is not of his date or school. The other Robbia works at Vincigliata are imitations by Ginori, &c.

² All these works and fragments were collected and arranged by the late Canonico Angelo Bandini.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
FIESOLE . . .	S. ANSANO	VISITATION S. AGNES AND MAGDALEN CHRIST AND BAPTIST	Polych. Lunette Polych. Statuettes. Painted Terracotta Lunette
	<i>L. Aisle</i>	STATUETTES OF SAINTS CHILD'S HEAD ENCLOSED IN GARLAND	
	<i>R. Aisle</i>	STATUETTE OF S. ANSANO CHRIST-CHILD HOLY WATER STOUP	Polych. White. Arm restored Pieced together from fragments
	<i>In Choir</i>	FRAGMENTS GROUPED TOGETHER, consisting of TWO ANGELS, CHERUB, AND PART OF GARLAND	
	<i>Sacristy</i>	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Tondo
FOIANO . . .	COLLEGIATA	STATUES OF S. JOHN EV. AND THE MAGDALEN MADONNA	
	CHIESA DELLA FRATERNITÀ STAEDEL INSTITUTE	MADONNA OF MERCY	1511. Polych. Mostly painted. Attributed to Giorgio Andreoli. From the Church of S. Domenico, Gubbio
FRESCIANO . .	CHURCH	CHRIST GIVING KEYS TO S. PETER MADONNA	Polych. Tondo
FRIEDRICHSHOF	COLL. OF THE LATE EMPRESS FREDERICK		
GALATRONA . . <i>Near Monteverchi</i>	CHURCH	HEXAGONAL FONT WITH SCENES FROM LIFE OF BAPTIST STATUE OF BAPTIST IN NICHE CIBORIO	Varied repetition of that in Cerreto Guidi White White and blue
	ABOVE FOUNTAIN	MADONNA	White on blue. Tondo
GALLICANO . . <i>Valley of Serchio</i>	S. LUCIA	STEMMA OF CAPITOLO DEL DUOMO DI FIRENZE	Polych.
GENOA	PALAZZO PRETORIO	SIXTEEN STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	
	ACCADEMIA	CORONATION OF VIRGIN	Polych. From Palazzo Bianco
	PALAZZO BIANCO	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
GENOA. . . .	PALAZZO IN VICO MELE	MADONNA	Sch. of A. Varied imitation of Madonna, No. 10 Museo Nazionale
GREVE. . . .	S. FRANCESCO	CORNICE OF FLOWERS AND FRUITS	Polych.
HAMBURG . .	KUNSTGEWERBE MUSEUM	MADONNA	Sch. of A. Version of "Madonna of the Cushion"
HOLMBURY. .	CHURCH OF S. MARY	MADONNA	Chiefly white on blue. Presented by Mr. J. R. Clayton
HOVE	CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A. Presented by Col. Goff
LAMA	CHURCH	MADONNA AND ANGELS	
LAMPORCCHIO	S. STEFANO	VISITATION, WITH SAINTS SEBASTIAN AND ROCK	Polych.
LARI	CASTELLO (Chapel) Cortile	MADONNA	Executed 1524 for Alessandro di Piero Segni
LECORE . . .	S. PIETRO	SEVERAL STEMMI HEAD OF S. PETER	
LEGNAIA. . .	CHURCH	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	
LEGRI	COMPAGNIA	PIETÀ	Sch. of A.
LIZZANO . . .	CHURCH	MADONNA	White on blue
LONDON . . .	S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM	43. CIRCULAR FRAME OF POPPY-HEADS	Good
		45. CROSS - KEYS WITH HALF FIGURE OF CHRIST	Polych. Lunette
		62. STEMMI OF SPADA FAMILY	Polych. Tondo
		72. CHERUB WITH SCROLL	White and blue
		369. THREE CLASSIC HEADS SURROUNDED BY GARLAND	Tondo
		370. CLASSIC HEAD SURROUNDED BY GARLAND	Tondo. From the Palazzo Guadagni, Florence
		371. Do.	
		372. Do.	
		409. PIETÀ	Polych. Mostly painted. Sch. of C.
		477. MADONNA	Polych. Tondo. Late variation of the Lichtenstein "Madonna of the Lilies"
		478. CHERUB	
		480. S. FRANCIS RECEIVING STIGMATA	Fragment of Altarpiece
		651. ADORATION OF MAGI	From the Soulages Coll.
		750. FRAGMENT OF FRIEZE OF FRUITS	Polych. Good

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
LONDON . . .	S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM	1028. S. GIOVANNINO 2555. HEAD OF JULIUS CÆSAR 3986. LAST SUPPER 4065. ANNUNCIATION 4248. STATUE OF EVANGELIST 4411. MADONNA 4517. STEMMA 4563. STEMMA 4677. CHILD WITH BAG-PIPES 5401. NATIVITY 5633. MADONNA 6741. MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA 6863. RIVER GOD. Oval 7235. ANNUNCIATION 7397. STEMMA 7397A. FRAGMENT 7413. PENTECOST 7417. { F R A G- MENTS OF 7418. { CURVED 7419. { F R A M E 7420. { W I T H CHERUBS 7547. MADONNA 7596. MADONNA A D O R I N G CHRIST-CHILD 7614. { A N G E L S BEARING 7615. { CANDEL- ABRA 7720. FRIEZE OF CHERUBS, HOLY LAMBS, AND SACRED INITIALS 7752. NATIVITY <i>Not numbered. On the top of Wall—</i> TWO STATUETTES OF SS. STEPHEN AND ANTONY ABATE	Statuette White on blue. Tondo Polych. Life-size. White on green stand White on blue Polych. Polych. Tondo White and blue. Presented by the Prince Consort Polych. Tondo White on blue. Tondo. Imitation of Verrocchio Chiefly white on blue. Sch. of A. From the Chapel of the Canigiani Villa, near Florence Polych. Late. Poor White Polych. With Arms of Simonetto di Chorso Inscribed: GIOVANNI · SALVETTI · P · A · E · C · MCCCCLIII · E · MICHELE · SVO · FIGLVOLO · P · A · MDXIII · Tondo Polych. Chiefly white on blue. Variation of Mr. Newall's Madonna, Rickmansworth Sch. of A. From the Campana Coll. White. Good. From the Campana Coll. Polych. Running round the Chapel of S. Chiara, Florence; built 1493 by Simone Pollaiuolo, suppressed 1842. Chapel removed to the Museum 1860 Polych. Tondo. Sch. of Luca. Good. From Casa Mozzi (see p. 200) Polych.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
LONDON . . .	S. KENSINGTON MUSEUM	<i>Lent by Mr. Pierpont Morgan—</i> MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD, ¹	Sch. of A. From the Castellani and Mannheim Coll.
	WALLACE COLL.	34. MADONNA	White. Sch. of A. The blue background is modern
	MESSRS. AGNEW, BOND STREET	36. MADONNA MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Late From a convent near Florence. Variation of No. 3 Museo Naz.
	COLL. OF MR. J. CLAYTON, 311 REGENT STREET	MADONNA	Tondo
	COLL. OF MR. H O L M A N HUNT, DRAYCOTT LODGE, FULHAM	MADONNA OF THE LILIES MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	White on blue. Repetition of the Lichtenstein <i>plaque</i> Polych.
	COLL. OF MR. WATTS, R.A.	MADONNA MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Small Tondo Tondo
	COLL. OF MR. C. P. ROWLEY, 61 PALL MALL	HOLY FAMILY	Tondo. Inf. of Raffaele. From the Sellière Coll. Good specimen of later work
LUCCA	S. FREDIANO	ANNUNCIATION	Chiefly white on blue. Sch. of A. Much restored
		STATUE OF SAINT IN NICHE	White on blue
<i>Near</i>	S. CONCORDIO	HALF FIGURE OF MADONNA HALF FIGURES OF SS. CONCORDIO AND EPIMACO	Imitation of Mino da Fiesole White. Sch. of A.
	COLL. OF MARCHESE MAZZAROSA	MADONNA	Tondo
LUCIGNANO . .	SS. ANNUNZIATA	ANNUNCIATION	
LUCO IN MUGELLO	CAPPELLA DELLA NATIVITÀ	STATUE OF MADONNA	
<i>Near Borgo S. Lorenzo</i>			
MANCHESTER.	WHITWORTH MUSEUM	ANNUNCIATION	Tymp. Chiefly white on blue. Late Sch. of A. Presented by the Misses Gaskell.
MARCIGNANO .	S. PIETRO (<i>On Façade</i>)	GARLAND	
MARSEILLES .	EGLISE DE LA MAJOR	DEPOSITION S. CATHERINE	
MASSA	DUOMO	FRAGMENTS OF NATIVITY	Polych. By Benedetto Buglioni. (See Marquand, "Search for Della Robbia." Scribner, 1893)
MASSA DI VALDINIEVOLE	PIEVE	MADONNA	
MEMMENANO .	S. MATTEO	PENTECOST	Chiefly white on blue. Sch. of A.
MESSINA . . .	S. MARIA DELLA SCALA	MADONNA	Tondo. Sch. of A.

¹ Nos. 7394 and 7843 are not of the Robbia school.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
MILAN . . .	COLL. OF PRINCE TRIVULZIO CASTELLO	BUST OF YOUNG SAINT BAPTISM OF CHRIST	White. Pendant to bust of S. Giovannino by Andrea Polych. Predella scene
MONTAIONE ¹ .	S. VIVALDO. LOGGIA	STATUES OF SS. ANTONIO ABATE, LINO AND ROCK	
MONTALCINO.	OSPEDALE	STATUE OF S. SEBASTIAN	
	S. FRANCESCO	MADONNA AND SAINTS	
MONTANINO.	CAPPELLA DEI BOTTIGLI	MADONNA AND SAINTS	1520. Inscribed: QVESTO AFATTO FARE MONA FRANCESCHA DONA FV DI MICHELE BOTTIGLI. MDXX. Polych.
MONTEBOTTOLINO	S. TOMMASO	INCREDULITY OF S. THOMAS	
MONTECASSIANO	COLLEGIATA	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. By Fra Mattia della Robbia? (See Gnoli, "Arch. Stor. dell' Arte," 1889)
MONTECATINI	PALAZZO PRETORIO	STEMMA OF PODESTÀ	Polych.
MONTE DI PESCIA	S. BARTOLOMMEO	STATUE OF S. BARTOLOMMEO	
MONTE MARCIANO	VIA MAESTRA (No. 12)	MADONNA	
MONTEMIGNAIO	IN STREET	ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	Polych.
MONTE OLIVETO MAGGIORE	OVER INNER ENTRANCE	SEATED STATUE OF S. BENEDICT	Polych. The companion figure on the other side of the Madonna by Giovanni (p. 240)
MONTEPALDI.	S. PIETRO (<i>Sacristy</i>)	ARCHANGEL GABRIEL	Polych.
MONTEPULCIANO	PALAZZO PUBBLICO	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Lunette. Sch. of A.
	CIMETERIO (<i>Capella</i>)	TABERNACLE	
	S. MARIA CONSERVATORIO BERNARDINO	TABERNACLE MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A.
	S. AGOSTINO (<i>Libreria</i>)	S. JOHN BAPTIST	White on blue
MONTE SANSAVINO	S. CHIARA	S. LORENZO WITH SS. SEBASTIAN AND ROCK	Polych. Statues
		MADONNA AND SAINTS	1525. Polych.
		NATIVITY	Polych.
MONTE SINARIO	CONVENT	S. ANTONIO	Polych.
		MADONNA AND SAINTS	
MONTESPERTOLI	S. PIETRO IN MERCATO	S. JEROME IN PENITENCE	
MONTEUGHI.	CHURCH (<i>Under Porch</i>)	PIETÀ	Polych.

¹ Most of the Robbia works have been removed to the Museo Nazionale, Florence. The series of painted terra-cottas are by Cicco da Gambassi.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
MONTEVARCHI	COLLEGIATA (<i>Cappella della Fraternità</i>)	PIETÀ	White on blue. Lunette. From Andrea's design
		SHRINE FOR RELIC	White and blue
		THIRTY-THREE HEADS OF CHERUBS	White on blue. The thirty-fourth is a stucco addition
		TWELVE CEILING PANELS	White and blue. These decorations are from the Cappella della Reliquia, superintended and in part executed by Giovanni. Arranged here without regard to original position (pp. 221, 222)
	PIAZZA DELLA DOGANA	STATUE OF S. ANTONIO ABATE	Polych.
MONTEVITTO-LINI	PALAZZO PRETORIO	STEMMA OF PODESTÀ	Polych.
MORROCCO . . <i>Near Tavarnelle</i>	S. MARIA	ANNUNCIATION BUST OF NICCOLÒ SERNIGI	Lunette Tondo
MOULINS. . .	MUSÉE	MATER DOLO-ROSA	Polych.
MUNICH . . .	NATIONAL MUSEUM	NATIVITY	Polych. Sch. of A.
NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.	ART MUSEUM	MADONNA	
NEW YORK, U.S.A.	COLL. OF MR. H. G. MARQUAND	MEDALLION WITH HEAD OF YOUTH BOY WITH DOLPHIN	} From the Stroganoff Collection
NIPOZZANO . .	ANGLE OF WALL ENCLOSING PODERE OF THE ALBIZZI	MADONNA	
OXFORD . . .	MUSEUM	10. "FORTNUM MADONNA"	Coloured gesso, over painted bronze. Tondo. Bought by Mr. Drury Fortnum in Florence, 1859
		11. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A.
		12. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A.
		13. COMMUNION OF MAGDALEN	Polych. Part of Predella. Bought in Florence
		14 AND 15. TWO BUSTS	} Painted Terra-cotta. From S. Maria Maddalena, Pian di Mugnone (p. 201)
		16. ANGEL'S HEAD	
		50-53. HEADS OF CHERUBS	Fragment of Frieze
		FRAGMENT OF MADONNA'S HEAD	Polych.
	COLL. OF MRS. FORTESCUE	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A.
PALAJA . . .	PIEVE DI S. ANDREA	GRADINO OF ALTAR WITH STATUETTE	

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
PANZANO. . .	PIEVE DI S. LEOLINO	CIBORIO	
Near Greve		TABERNACLE	
PARIS . . .	ECOLE DES BEAUX ARTS (<i>Chapel</i>)	MARBLE STATUE OF CATHERINE DE MÉDICIS	By Girolamo della Robbia (p. 268)
	LOUVRE	424. MADONNA AND ANGELS	Painted Terra-cotta. Small. Variation of Fortnum Medallion
		425. MADONNA AND SAINTS	Terra-cotta
		426. MADONNA AND ANGELS	Terra-cotta
		427. NATIVITY	Tondo
		428. MADONNA A D O R I N G CHRIST-CHILD	Tondo. Sch. of A.
		429. MADONNA	Late Imitation of Impruneta Madonna
		430. MADONNA	
		432. FOUR FLYING ANGELS	Fragment of Altarpiece
		433. CHERUBS	Fragment of Frieze
		434. GETHSEMANE	Polych.
		435. MADONNA, S. ANNE AND SAINTS	Polych. Lunette
		436. S. MICHAEL	Polych.
		437. S. JAMES	Polych.
		438. A N G E L S BEARING CANDELABRA	
		439. ALTARPIECE	Polych. Has been Madonna and Saints, but the central figure is lacking. The statue placed before it does not belong to it
		440. S. SEBASTIAN	Polych.
		442. S. GEORGE S L A Y I N G DRAGON	Polych. Part of Predella. Good
		443. ANGEL SUPPORTING CURTAIN	Polych. Fragment
		444. HEAD OF MAN	Tondo
		444 <i>bis</i> . BUST OF MAN	Tondo
		445. ASCENSION	Much restored. Bought in 1893 in Citta di Castello
		446. C H R I S T HEALING SICK MAN	Polych. Imitation of Giovanni's Medallion of Loggia di S. Paolo
		447. MADONNA	
		448. TABERNACLE	
		449. FRAGMENT OF TABERNACLE	
		450. MADONNA	Statuette
		451. S. ANTONIO	
		452. A BISHOP	
		453. HEAD OF S. ANNE	Fragment
		454. A N G E L S BEARING CANDELABRA	

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
PARIS	LOUVRE	455. ANGELS BEARING CANDELABRA	Statue
		456. PUTTO	
		457. PIETÀ	From vases
		458. HEAD OF MAN	
		459. ¹ FRUITS AND FOLIAGE	Tondo
	MUSÉE DE CLUNY	2792. MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	
		2795. BUST OF BOY	Sch. of A.
		2796. MADONNA	
		2797. ANGEL BEARING CANDELABRA	Good
		2799. TWO PREDELLA SCENES WITH MARTYRDOM OF S. CATHERINE	
		2803. ² PILASTER FROM ALTAR-PIECE	Sch. of L. Good
	COLL. OF MADAME ANDRÉ	MADONNA	
	COLL. OF M. FOULC	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Tondo
	COLL. OF M. SPITZER	ASSUMPTION	Tondo
	COLL. OF M. GUSTAVE DREYFUS	MADONNA	
PECCIOLI. . .	PALAZZO PRETORIO	FIVE STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	MADONNA AND SAINTS
PELAGO . . .	S. MARIA DEL CARMINE A FOSSI	MADONNA AND SAINTS	
PERUGIA . . .	MUSEO	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Tondo
		CHRIST AND SAMARITAN	Att. to Benedetto Buglioni (see Marquand, "Search for Della Robbias." Scribner, 1893)
PESARO . . .	MUSEO DI MAIOLICHE	214. MADONNA	Tondo
PESCIA. . . . <i>Near Lucca</i>	PALAZZO EPISCOPALE CHAPEL	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Chiefly white on blue
	PIAZZA VITTORIO EMANUELE	STEMMA	
	VIA CAIROLI (No. 22)	STEMMA OF CERCHI FAMILY	Polych.
	VIA CAIROLI (No. 23)	MONOGRAM OF CHRIST	

¹ With the exception of Nos. 424, 427, 440, 442, 445, 446, 448, 449, 450, 453, [the entire collection belonged to the Marchese Campana of Florence.

² The head of a negress with blue flesh catalogued among the Robbia works is not of the school.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
PETWORTH. .	SELHAM HOUSE	MADONNA	Tondo. Bought from a village near Pisa
PIAN DI MUGNONE <i>Near Florence</i>	S. MARIA MADDALENA	PRESEPIO	1515. Polych. Restored (p. 200)
PIAZZANESE .	PIEVE	BAPTISMAL FONT	
PIOMBINO . .	CAPPELLA DI CITTADELLA	MADONNA	
PISA	MUSEO	MADONNA MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Tondo Sch. of A. From the Church of the Misericordia
	CAMPO SANTO	MADONNA IN MANDORLA	Polych.
	<i>Chapel</i> MONTE DI PIETÀ (<i>Via del Monte</i>)	S. PETER PIETÀ	Polych. Fragment of large Altarpiece Sch. of A.
PISTOJA . . .	OSPEDALE DEL CEPPO (<i>Over Chapel</i>)	CORONATION OF VIRGIN	1510. Lunette. By Benedetto Buglioni (p. 251)
	PALAZZO PRETORIO	SEVERAL STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	Polych. Three bear the dates 1488, 1508, 1526
	S. FRANCESCO (<i>Sacristy</i>)	RESURRECTION	Polych. From the Ospedale del Ceppo
	LYCEO FORTEGUERRA	BUST OF CHRIST	
POGGIBONSI .	S. LUCHESE	MADONNA AND SAINTS	1514. Attributed to Lorenzo Marinna
PONTE A MENSOLA <i>Near Florence</i>	VILLA DI QUERCETO (<i>Marchese Riccardi-Strozzi</i>)	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD MADONNA STEMMMA OF STROZZI FAMILY	White on blue Tondo Polych.
PONTASSIEVE .	S. FRANCESCO	MADONNA	
POPPI	CONVENTO DELLE AGOSTINIANE	NATIVITY	(The Pietà over the entrance is a painted stucco imitation, probably executed at the restoration of the Church in 1663)
	CASTELLO (<i>Cortile</i>)	FIVE STEMMI	Polych. Bearing dates 1471, 1488, 1502, 1521, 1526
	CASA DI BRAMASOLE (<i>Outside Porta a Badia</i>)	MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA	Polych.
PORRENTA . .	CHIESA PARROCCHIALE	MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA	Polych.
PORRETTA . .	CAPPELLA BARAGAZZA	MADONNA	
PRAG	RUDOLPHINUM	MADONNA	Tondo. Sch. of A.
PRATO	MUSEO	MADONNA	White on blue
	S. MARIA DI BUON CONSIGLIO (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	COCK	Polych. Tondo
	S. NICCOLÒ DA TOLENTINO (<i>Cloister</i>)	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD	Sch. of A.
<i>Near</i>	VIA DEL FERRO	181, GARLAND	
PRATO VECCHIO	VIA DEL FERRO <i>In open Chapel on road to Stia</i>	S. ANTONINO MADONNA	Lunette White on blue

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
PRATO VECCHIO	CASA BROCCHI (<i>Façade</i>) - BORGO DI MEZZO	MADONNA MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Badly restored with oil-paint
RATA	PIEVE VECCHIA	ANNUNCIATION	
RADDA	PALAZZO PRETORIO	FOURTEEN STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	Polych.
RADICOFANI .	S. PIETRO (1st <i>Chap. R.</i>) 2nd <i>Chap. R.</i> 4th <i>Chap. L.</i> 6th <i>Chap. L.</i>	STATUE OF MADONNA CRUCIFIXION MADONNA AND SAINTS MADONNA AND SAINTS	White White on blue White on blue White on blue
RIFREDI . . .	CONSERVATORIO LA QUIETE (<i>Sala Grande</i>) <i>Ingresso</i> S. STEFANO IN PANE (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	INCREDULITY OF S. THOMAS NOLI ME TANGERE EIGHT CHERUBS NOLI ME TANGERE STEMMA	} Polych. Large Lunettes. From the suppressed Convent of S. Jacopo di Ripoli (p. 235) White on blue Polych. Lunette. From the sup- pressed Convent of S. Onofrio Polych.
RIGNANO. . .	PARROCCHIO DI S. LEOLINO	HEXAGONAL FONT WITH SCENES FROM LIFE OF BAP- TIST	
RINCINE . . .	S. MARIA S. ELENA	MADONNA MADONNA AND SAINTS	
ROME	VATICAN (<i>Sale Borgia</i>) <i>Biblioteca</i> MUSEO INDUS- TRIALE	MADONNA AND SAINTS STEMMA WITH PAPAL ARMS TABERNACLE MADONNA AP- PEARING TO S. BERNARD MADONNA ADOR- ING CHRIST- CHILD MADONNA MEDALLION WITH MEDICI ARMS	1499. Polych. By Luca the Younger. Inscribed: LVCAS HOC OPVS FECIT 1499 (p. 259) Polych. Polych. Imitation of Filippino Lippi Sch. of A. 1515. White on blue From the Conservatorio dei Mendicanti
ROVEZZANO .	S. ANDREA S. MICHELE (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	MADONNA ARCHANGEL MICHAEL	
SALETTA . . . <i>Near Fiesole</i>	S. MARGHERITA	MADONNA ADOR- ING CHRIST- CHILD	Sch. of A.
S. AGATA . . .	CHURCH	MADONNA MADONNA	
S. AMATO . . . <i>Near Pistoja</i>	SS. ASSUNZIONE	TWO KNEELING ANGELS	Polych.
S. ANDREA A GAVIGNALLA	CHURCH (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	BUST OF S. AN- DREA	Polych.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
S. ANGELO IN VADO <i>Near Pesaro</i> SANTA FIORA.	S. CHIARA PIEVE	FRAGMENTS OF ALTARPIECE CORONATION OF VIRGIN PULPIT WITH LAST SUPPER, RESURRECTION, AND ASCENSION COMMUNICATORIO CRUCIFIXION	(See Antaldi, "S. Angiolo in Vado," <i>Arte e Storia</i> , 1887, pp. 234 and 243) Polych. Variation of Andrea's Altarpiece of S. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi (p. 183)
S. CASCIANO <i>Near</i> <i>Near</i>	CONVENTO DI SS. TRINITÀ CONVENT OF S. ANDREA CORSINI S. MARIA DI CASAVECCHIA S. GIOVANNI IN SUGANA	MADONNA ADORING CHRIST-CHILD ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN TWO ANGELS BEARING CANDELABRA STEMMA MADONNA AND SAINTS STATUETTE OF BAPTIST MADONNA AND ANGELS HOLY FAMILY STEMMA OF GIANDONATI STATUE OF ARCH-ANGEL MICHAEL BAPTISMAL FONT	Good version Polych. Polych. Imitation of Mino da Fiesole Polych. White on blue. Lunette Tondo Polych. Tondo
S. CROCE SULL' ARNO	S. LORENZO		
S. DONATO IN POGGIO	PIEVE		
S. GIMINIGNANO	CONFRATERNITÀ DI S. CHIARA	MADONNA	Lunette
S. GIOVANNI VALDARNO	ORATORIO DELLA MADONNA DELLE GRAZIE PALAZZO PRETORIO	ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN TWENTY STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	1513. Polych. On base the stemmi of the Buondelmonti and Salviati families
S. JACOPO IN POLVEROSA	CHURCH (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Polych. Lunette
S. LORENZO ALLA CAPPELLA <i>Near Lucca</i>	CHURCH (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	SMALL TABERNACLE	
S. LORENZO A FONTISTERNI	CHURCH	TABERNACLE	Polych.
S. MARCO VECCHIO	S. MARIA DELLA MISERICORDIA (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	LUNETTE	
S. MARIA A MONTE	CANONICA DELLA COLLEGIATA	STEMMA	
S. MARIA NOVELLA IN CHIANTI	CHURCH	BAPTISMAL FONT MADONNA AND SAINTS	

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
S. MARIA A NO- VOLI <i>Near Sesto</i>	VIA DELLE SCIABBE	SPOZALIZIO	
S. MARTA . . .	CHURCH	S. MARTA AND ANGELS	Polych. Lunette
S. MINIATO AL TEDESCO	CONVENT OF S. DOMENICO	ANNUNCIATION	Tondo
S. MORO . . . <i>Near Signa</i>	CHURCH	MADONNA AND SAINTS	
S. NICCOLO A STRADA . .	OVER HOUSE	TABERNACLE MADONNA ADOR- ING CHRIST- CHILD	
S. PIETRO A CAVAZZANO . <i>Near Vernio</i>	CHURCH	TABERNACLE	
S. PIERO A SIEVE	CHURCH	HEXAGONAL FONT WITH SCENES FROM LIFE OF BAP- TIST	
S. STEFANO A CAMPOLI <i>Near S. Casciano</i>	CHURCH CONFRATERNITÀ DI S. FRAN- CESCO	MADONNA ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	White on blue 1514. Chiefly white on blue. In- scribed: QVESTA TAVOLA E LA CAP- ELLA ANO FATTA FARE IACOPO MATTEO SANTI E GIOVIANO FIGLI- VOLI DI GIOVANNI D IACOPO CHECO DE LA PIEVE. 1514
S. STEFANO IN PESCINA <i>Near Vaglia</i>	CHURCH	NATIVITY WITH STATUETTES OF SAINTS	Polych.
SCANDICCI . .	S. MARIA A GREVE	MADONNA	White on blue
SCARPERIA . .	PALAZZO PRETO- RIO	FOURTEEN STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	
SEANO	S. PIETRO	STATUETTE OF S. ROCCO	
SERRAVALLE .	CAPPELLA DELLA SS. TRINITÀ	HEAD OF SAINT	
SESTO	PALAZZO PRETO- RIO	SIX STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	
SETTIGNANO . <i>Near Florence</i>	CHURCH (<i>Above 2nd Altar R.</i>)	MADONNA AND ANGELS	Sch. of A. Good. The figures are free statues, white, set against a modern painted background
SETTIMO . . . <i>Near Cascina</i>	S. CASCIANO	BAPTISM OF CHRIST	
SEVRES	MUSÉE CÉRA- MIQUE	MADONNA MADONNA TABERNACLE FRAGMENTS PIETÀ	Large statue. White. Good Tondo Polych. From the Château de Madrid Predella Scene
SIENA	OSSERVANZA (<i>In Vaulting</i>)	EVANGELISTS	Polych. Att. to Il Vecchietta. Neither of the polychromatic Pietà are of the Robbia school
	S. SPIRITO	PRESEPIO	1504. Polych. By Fra Ambrogio della Robbia (p. 256)
	MANICOMIO DI S. NICCOLÒ (<i>In Vaulting</i>)	EVANGELISTS	Polych.
<i>Outside</i> . . .	CAPPELLA DE' TURCHI	HOLY FAMILY	Att. to Ant. Federighi (see Milanesi, <i>Vas.</i> , ii. 194)

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
SIENA	SIGNOR TORRINI (for sale)	TWO ANGELS BEARING CAN- DELABRA	Polych.
SIGNA	PIEVE DI S. GIO- VANNI BAT- TISTA	STEMMA DEL CAPITOLO DEL DUOMO DI FIR- ENZE	
SOMMAJA . . .	S. STEFANO	GARLAND	Polych.
<i>Near Calenzano</i> SOVIGLIANA . .	IN STREET	MADONNA	Small Tondo
<i>Near Vinci</i> STIA	ORATORIO DI S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE	NATIVITY VIRGIN APPEAR- ING TO MONNA GIOVANNA EVANGELISTS TABERNACLE	Polych. Lunette. Has been inscribed, but only the following words are legible: OPVS ANNO DNI MCCCCC
	CHIESA PLEBANA MADONNA DEL PONTE	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Inscribed: ANNO DOMINI MDXXXI
TIGNANO . . .	S. ROMOLO	CIBORIO	
TIRZANO . . .	S. ANDREA	MADONNA AND SAINTS	Attributed by Signor Carocci to Andrea, (Not seen by Author)
<i>Near Dicomano</i> TORINO	GALLERIA REALE	NATIVITY	Polych. Tondo
TORRE	S. MARIA	ANGEL BEARING SCROLL STEMMA OF MAC- CHIAVELLI FAMILY	
<i>Near Montespertoli</i> VALIANO . . .	S. LORENZO	GOD THE FATHER FRAGMENTS OF BAPTISMAL FONT	
<i>Near Montepul- ciano</i> VALSAVIG- NONE	S. PIETRO	MADONNA AND SAINTS	
VENICE . . .	S. GIOBBE	FOUR EVANGE- LISTS IN VAULT- ING	Polych. Varied imitation of Me- dallions of Pazzi Chapel
LA VERNA . .	CHIESA MAG- GIORE (<i>R. and L. of High Altar</i>)	S. FRANCESCO AND S. ANTONIO ABATE	White on blue. Feigned statues. Sch. of A.
	CHIESA DEGLI ANGELI	NATIVITY DEPOSITION	Polych. Polych.
	CAPPELLA MON- TEDAGLIO	DEPOSITION	Polych.
	CAPPELLA DELLE STIMATE (<i>Over Entrance</i>)	S. FRANCESCO RECEIVING STIGMATA	Polych.
	REFECTORY	MADONNA	Sch. of A.
	CAPPELLA DELLA PENNA	CRUCIFIXION	Polych. Fragment of Altarpiece. In- scribed: CAROLI · ANGELARIUS · ANTONIUS · 1482 (p. 171)
VERNIO . . .	S. QUIRICO	HOLY FAMILY	
VERTIGHE . .	S. MARIA	ANGEL BEARING CANDELABRUM	
<i>Near Castiglione Fiorentino</i> VIENNA	COLL. OF PRINCE LICHTENSTEIN	"MADONNA OF THE LILIES" MADONNA AND CHERUBS BOY WITH SQUIRREL	White on blue. From Florence. Sch. of Luca Sch. of Luca Polych.

TOWN.	GALLERY OR CHURCH.	WORK.	NOTES.
VINZIO A RIMAGGIO <i>Near Bagni a Ripoli</i>	S. LORENZO (<i>Façade of Canonica</i>)	MADONNA	
VILLAFRANCA A LUNIZIANA	S. FRANCESCO	DEPOSITION	
VITERBO . . .	MUSEO COMMUN- ALE	MADONNA AND ANGELS	1509. Lunette. From the suppressed Church of S. Giovanni dè Fiorentini (p. 197)
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	PALAZZO MUNI- CIPALE	CHRIST AND THE SAMARITAN TEN STEMMI OF PODESTÀ	
	S. GIROLAMO	S. FRANCESCO IN- STITUTING OR- DER	White on blue. Sch. of A.
	S. FRANCESCO	ASSUMPTION OF VIRGIN	1514. Sch. of A.
WANTAGE . .	LOCKINGE HOUSE COLL. OF LADY WANTAGE	MADONNA MADONNA ADOR- ING CHRIST- CHILD	White on blue. Sch. of A. Good
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.	COLL. OF MR. SAM. G. WARD	MADONNA	White on blue. Sch. of A.

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